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Australia ... 22 S. Israeli ... NIS 200. Portugal ... 140 Esc.
Belarus ... 0.000 Dn. Italy ... 1,000 Lira. Sweden ... 0.000 Kr.
Bulgaria ... 0.000 Dn. Japan ... 100 Yen. Turkey ... 75 P.
Croatia ... 0.000 Dn. Mexico ... 200 Pesos. Saudi Arabia ... 7.00 R.
Cyprus ... 0.000 Dn. Kuwait ... 500 Fiat. Spain ... 145 Pes.
Denmark ... 11.000 Kr. Libya ... 1 Dn. 0.40 Shillings ... 0.00 S.Kr.
Egypt ... E.P. 2750 Luxembourg 201 Fr. Switzerland ... 50 S.Kr.
Finland ... 0.000 Dn. Morocco ... 0.00 Dn. Turkey ... 7.00 Dn.
France ... 7.00 Dn. Netherlands ... 0.00 Fr. U.A.E. ... 0.00 Dn.
Germany ... 0.00 Dn. Norway ... 0.00 Nkr. U.S. M.R. (For 100 Dn.)
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ESTABLISHED 1887

After Ethnic Chaos, Soviet Debate Starts

Demand for Discipline Answered By Calls for More Compromise

By Bill Keller
New York Times Service

MOSCOW — From the chaos of mass protest, strikes and ethnic violence that have rocked two southern Soviet republics, a sharp new debate has begun to emerge about what "democracy" means in Mikhail Gorbachev's Soviet Union.

The conservative view, laid down most authoritatively in the Communist Party newspaper Pravda, is that the ethnic crisis in the southern republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan was the work of extremists egged on by "Western radio voices" to acts of "intolerable" civil disobedience.

Solution: greater discipline.

But the youth newspaper Komsomolskaya Pravda, in an extensive, relatively sympathetic two-part reconstruction of the events published Saturday and Sunday, asserted that the crisis arose when well-meaning people were forced into acts of protest because their genuine grievances had been ignored by officials at all levels.

Solution: more responsive government, a willingness to compromise.

Mr. Gorbachev has embraced "democratization" as the vital spirit of his program, as a way to animate a numbed populace and spur economic revival.

The press discussion confirms that the struggle between those who interpret this as a call for keeping liberalization, and those who favor a more limited view of democracy, extends into the highest ranks of the Communist Party.

Some Armenians and their sympathizers say that to back down now, in the first real test of popular power, would be a demoralizing defeat for democracy. They argue for a shift to such less dangerous tactics as mass resignations from the party or general strikes.

Others urge caution and compromise, fearing that hard-liners in the leadership may use the Armenian unrest as an excuse to cut short the trend toward liberalization.

"We understand that all the demonstrations were a result of glasnost and perestroika," said an Armenian journalist, Zori Balayan, referring to Mr. Gorbachev's catchwords for greater tolerance of public expression, and economic and political reform. "Now, if we believe in glasnost and perestroika, we must take care not to harm them by our actions."

"The time has come for us to decide which side we are on — on the side of perestroika, or of the forces inhibiting it," a Yerevan factory director quoted by the government newspaper Izvestia said.

For the opponents of perestroika, though, the events in the

south "can be very advantageous, as it gives them an opportunity to lead," they say. "Look where democracy can lead."

Telephone interviews with Armenians and official press reports indicated that while the crisis is not over, it has cooled in recent days.

Pravda confirmed that since Fri-

NEWS ANALYSIS

day strikes have shut down most businesses in Stepanakert, capital of the disputed Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region, where the Armenian majority demands that it be severed from the Azerbaijani Republic and annexed to the neighboring republic of Armenia.

In Armenia, protesters abandoned plans to resume demonstrations after the government moved in troops and declared a ban on public gatherings. Attempts to empty the streets with a mass stay-at-home protest last weekend had little impact.

The ambivalence in the Kremlin has been evident in the way that authorities dealt with the rash of events inspired by Mr. Gorbachev's promises of greater freedom.

The traditional instinct for order was evident in a virtual news black-

See ASSESS, Page 2

Michigan Victory Makes Jackson a Formidable Contender

By Paul Taylor
and David S. Broder
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The Reverend Jesse L. Jackson's breakthrough victory in Michigan voting has transformed him into a formidable contender for the Democratic presidential nomination and prompted astonished party leaders to question the ability of Michael S.

Dukakis to compete with him.

The Michigan voting ended the candidacy of the third-place finisher, Representative Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri, who had count-

ed on what he called a "Michigan miracle" to keep his candidacy alive. On Monday, he dropped out of the race.

Mr. Jackson won overwhelming-

Jackson is a populist in style and policy. Campaign Basics, Page 3.

ly in Michigan, with 55 percent of the popular vote, compared with 28 percent for Mr. Dukakis, the Massachusetts governor.

In the separate contest for delegates to the party's national nominating convention, the Michigan victory put Mr. Jackson within

striking distance of Mr. Dukakis. The latest Associated Press delegate count put Mr. Jackson at 603.55 to Mr. Jackson's 597.55.

Senator Albert Gore Jr. of Tennessee had 362.8, Senator Paul Simon of Illinois 171.5, Mr. Gephardt 167 and uncommitted 362.6.

Several sources close to Governor Mario M. Cuomo of New York, meanwhile, said the governor had "postponed indefinitely" any decision to throw his considerable support behind Mr. Dukakis.

It was this close" before the Michigan voting, said one longtime

associate of Mr. Cuomo, holding his fingers close together, "but he's

polls it was impossible to know for certain.

Only a small percentage of Michiganders resided in the caucuses. With 94 percent of the vote counted, Mr. Jackson had 107,689 votes to 55,337 for Mr. Dukakis. The state has about 5.8 million registered voters.

In continuing to perform far beyond expectations, Mr. Jackson has not only rearranged almost all the basic assumptions about the race for the Democratic nomination, but has also begun to force party leaders to face up to a potential dilemma: the prospect that their nominee will be a black, leftist preacher, still considered by almost all of them to be unelectable in the fall.

"He was this close" before the Michigan voting, said one longtime associate of Mr. Cuomo, holding his fingers close together, "but he's

polls it was impossible to know for certain.

Speaking of black Democrats, he said, "Down one wall we have to turn our backs on everything this party has purported to stand for — and on our most loyal voting bloc. Down the other, we face certain disaster in the fall."

The easiest way for Democrats to steer clear of this double-bind

See DEMOCRATS, Page 3

Occupied Areas Are Shut Off

3-Day Ban Is Set; Israel Expecting Violent Protests

By John Kifner
New York Times Service

JERUSALEM — The Israeli Army announced Monday that it was sealing off the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip for the next three days in anticipation of planned Arab demonstrations on Wednesday.

The unprecedented closure will ban journalists from the territories captured in 1967. It means that Palestinians will not be permitted to enter or leave Israel proper until Friday.

The entire Gaza Strip is to be put under curfew until Friday, meaning that none of the more than 650,000 Palestinians living there can go outside their houses from 10 P.M. to 5 A.M.

Army roadblocks, which began going up Monday evening, reflect not only the worries of the Israeli government over nearly four months of Palestinian protests but also mounting irritation with the reports of foreign journalists. Officials have complained that these reports have severely damaged Israel's image.

"This comes first of all from our desire to say 'You determined Land Day. Let's confront each other; we'll see who will be stronger,'" Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin said, explaining the measures. "Land Day" is the name given by Arabs to March 30, which marks the anniversary of the 1976 killing of six Arab demonstrators against Israeli seizure of land.

"Second," Mr. Rabin said, the measures "will isolate the territories and the Arabs of Israel — a day before Land Day, Land Day, and a day after Land Day."

Reports on Israel state radio and television raised the possibility that the measures, particularly the ban on journalists, might be continued indefinitely.

"We'll see what will be further on," Mr. Rabin said.

The army announcement said journalists would only be allowed into the territories with the authorization of the army spokesman's office and would be accompanied by an army escort.

Thousands of Palestinians have been rounded up in recent weeks in a stepped-up effort to break the protest. On Sunday, Mr. Rabin put the number in custody at nearly 4,000.

Increasingly, the government's concerns have focused on the "Land Day" demonstrations. A deployment of about 4,000 police

See ISRAEL, Page 2

U.S. Says It Misjudged Noriega's Resistance

By Susan F. Rasky
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration has misjudged the ability of Panama's military leader, General Manuel Antonio Noriega, to withstand American economic pressure aimed at forcing his removal and is considering further moves against him, according to a senior State Department official.

Elliot Abrams, the assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, said Sunday that while suspension of American economic and military aid to Panama and the suspension of payments for operation of the Panama Canal had squeezed the Panamanian economy, the situation in Panama would have to be re-evaluated next week if General Noriega were still in power.

"A lot of things will come to a head in early April," Mr. Abrams said. He declined to say what additional steps the United States might take to force General Noriega to leave, but administration officials said that among the options being considered was his forcible extradition to the United

States, where he is wanted on drug and racketeering charges.

The officials did not make it clear how that could be accomplished. But Panamanian opposition leaders here said they understood from the administration and from leaders in Latin America that the United States had considered seeking his extradition through a request to Costa Rica, which he tried to arrange to visit over the weekend.

According to senior Latin American diplomats, General Noriega wanted Sunday to discuss his political future with the Costa Rican president, Oscar Arias Sanchez, and Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez of Spain, who also was in Costa Rica over the weekend. Spain has offered General Noriega political asylum if the United States agreed not to ask Madrid for his extradition.

Asked specifically whether the United States would attempt to extradite the general forcibly and if so how this might be accomplished, Mr. Abrams replied, "I don't want to rule anything out because I want

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Rising Rivers Across Europe Threaten Widespread Floods

The Associated Press

BONN — West German authorities worked urgently Monday to strengthen dikes along the Danube River after floodwaters burst through several earthen dams, forcing the evacuation of hundreds of homes.

Major rivers across West Germany have been rising for about two weeks, but heavy rains over the weekend worsened the situation.

The Rhine River was rising 2 centimeters (just under an inch) a minute in some places, threatening homes and businesses in Cologne, Bonn and other communities.

Two young West Germans drowned Sunday in southern West Germany, bringing to eight the number of people killed since flooding started two weeks ago.

100 Political Prisoners Released by Sandinists

By Julia Preston
Washington Post Service

MANAGUA — The Nicaraguan government, in its first important step to comply with the recent cease-fire accord with the contras, has freed 100 political prisoners.

At the midday release ceremony at Managua's Zona Franca prison, Interior Minister Tomás Borge Martínez warmly supported the cease-fire agreement, calling it "the only way to achieve a permanent, dignified peace."

Mr. Borge's speech Sunday dispelled concerns that there might be differences over the pace among the nine top commanders who head the ruling Sandinist National Liberation Front.

The release occurred amid signs of continuing dissension among the contras and their supporters over the accord, signed in the southern border town of Sapod. The directors of the Nicaraguan Resistance, the contra alliance, said at Sapod that they would present the government with a list of prisoners they wanted liberated Sunday.

But their roster, prepared Saturday in occasionally stormy meetings in Miami, was finished too late for the required approval by the Sandinist-dominated National Assembly. Contra negotiators have been preoccupied since Wednesday answering criticism from their partisans that they settled for too little at Sapod and exposed contra fighters to danger.

The list of those freed was drawn up by the government and approved by the National Assembly. It nevertheless included prisoners whose cases were widely publicized by human rights groups and dozens of members of opposition groups.

One was Roberto Amador Návarez, a contra pilot shot down by Sandinist gunners Oct. 3, 1983, while flying supplies to rebel fighters. Mr. Amador, who was robust and dark-haired when imprisoned, emerged Sunday with gray hair and with his back in a brace to ease the pain of a spinal fracture he suffered when his plane crashed.

As he was smothered by the embraces of relatives sobbing for joy, Mr. Amador said he never renounced his affiliation with the contras while in Sandinist hands. But he said Sunday that he was "apolitical" and that he planned to live in Miami. Mr. Amador said his treatment in prison was "sometimes average and sometimes bad, but never good."

Also freed was Manuel Adán Rúgama, 28, a physician whose mother, Violeta, is a founding member of the Jan. 22 Movement, the committee of relatives of political prisoners that has been repeatedly harassed by Sandinist authorities.

Dr. Rúgama appeared stunned Sunday and refused to comment to reporters until, he said, "I make sure I'm really free."

In the crowded auditorium where the prisoners were given amnesty certificates, Dr. Rúgama's mother said that she was worried because no other relatives of committee members had been freed.

About 1,400 Nicaraguans accused of collaborating with the contras remain in Sandinist prisons, according to government and International Red Cross figures, as well as about 1,850 former soldiers of the National Guard of the late dictator Anastasio Somoza. Several hundred more, who have not been tried or believed to be in other prisons.

Under the Sapod agreement, half of those accused of helping the con-

The latest casualties were a 21-year-old woman and her 20-year-old brother, both of whom drowned when their canoe overturned on a rain-swollen river near Marktkirchen.

The rising Rhine water forced authorities to close parts of a major highway between Mainz and Koblenz and disrupted rail traffic.

Officials said about 1,400 people were evacuated Sunday night and early Monday after the Danube burst through several dikes near Regensburg, about 90 kilometers (about 55 miles) north of Munich.

Hundreds of farm animals were also taken to higher ground, the officials added.

Hans Voggenreiter, a spokesman for the rescue operation, said it was the worst flooding in the area since 1920.

Squads of volunteers used sandbags to fortify dikes along the Danube as officials warned there could be more evacuations.

Riverside sidewalks and some streets in Bonn, the federal capital, have disappeared beneath the Rhine's floodwaters.

Residents of the villas that line the Rhine at the Bonn district of Bad Godesberg, home to many diplomats, used pumps to dry out flooded cellars.

In Cologne, a police spokesman said the old town was under threat and warned that a major road tunnel under the Rhine might have to be closed.

In Czechoslovakia, two persons died and three others were injured when a tree uprooted by raging floods fell on a tourist bus in the Trutnov district, north of Prague.

The Elbe River was reported 2.5 meters above normal in the city of Decin, press reports said. The Danube in Bratislava rose half a meter between Sunday and Monday.

Roads west of Prague were flooded, throwing road and rail transport into disarray.

In Dresden, East Germany, a number of Elbe bridges were closed and the ADN press agency said civil defense and water workers were struggling to secure buildings in low-lying areas.

ISRAEL: 3-Day Closure

(Continued from Page 1)

licemen, including a helicopter-borne tactical unit and additional army units called into the Galilee, is under way to deal with the demonstrators.

Israeli Arabs living within the pre-1967 borders have called for demonstrations on Wednesday in solidarity with Palestinians in the occupied territories.

On Dec. 23, virtually all of roughly 700,000 Arab citizens of Israel proper joined in a general strike supporting the protest movement.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, speaking Monday to a special session of the Knesset, or parliament, called on Israeli Arabs to remain calm.

"Don't be dragged after the instigators and agitators," Mr. Shamir said. "Deter from your midst the inflamers of the foreign fire and guard the peace with the nation of Israel."

In an interview with Monday's *Ma'ariv* newspaper, the prime minister said: "If the Arabs of Israel won't come to their senses, reality will be harder and laden with impending disaster. I am not afraid. A test of strength between us and them is like a contest between an elephant and a fly."

■ **Shamir Assails Shultz**

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir criticized the U.S. secretary of state, George P. Shultz, for meeting with the Palestinian Americans and renewed his opposition to a U.S. Middle East peace plan, Reuters reported from Jerusalem.

In a speech to the Knesset, the Israeli parliament, Mr. Shamir attacked Mr. Shultz for meeting professors Edward Said and Ibrahim Abu Lughod, members of the Palestine National Council, a body linked to the Palestine Liberation Organization.

"We take a very grave view of American efforts to establish contacts with people of the PLO," Mr. Shamir said.

Members of the Palestine National Council are members of the PLO in every way," he said. "This council is the highest body of the terror organizations."

Mr. Shamir's criticism of the United States, Israel's closest ally, came six days before Mr. Shultz returns to the Middle East to press for a U.S. peace initiative that Mr. Shamir opposes.

Israel regards the PLO as a terrorist group bent on destroying the Jewish state. A 1975 agreement with Israel bars the United States from negotiating with the PLO.

In his speech, Mr. Shamir again rejected a U.S. proposal to convene an international peace conference, which he said would force Israel to withdraw from the occupied areas of the Golan Heights.

Although resolutions passed in both the House and the Senate have expressed broad support for further economic measures to hasten his removal, the administration has said it did not believe it was necessary at this time to invoke the law.

In the meantime, the State Department and Panamanian officials in exile here are putting the finishing touches on a plan to airlift at least \$1 million worth of emergency food supplies into Panama.

Mr. Abrams said the aid was intended not only for humanitarian purposes, but also to ensure that the current economic sanctions, which have virtually paralyzed the Panamanian economy, do not turn the Panamanian people against the United States.

New Beirut Daily Published

The Associated Press

BEIRUT — A new daily newspaper began publishing here Sunday, raising to 14 the number of dailies in Beirut. The newspaper, *Ad-Diyar* (*The Homeland*), is owned by a group of Christian journalists based in East Beirut.

MACARTHUR: The Memory

(Continued from Page 1)

held back a respectful distance by military police.

When General Harry S. Truman abruptly fired General MacArthur in 1951, in a dispute over strategy in the Korean War, the Japanese lined the route to the airport, many holding banners reading, "Goodbye General MacArthur. We Still Love You."

Dai-Ichi does not advertise the fact that General MacArthur's office has been preserved intact and is open to the public. If it did, Mr. Kaho said, the building would swarm with visitors because of the strong emotional hold that General MacArthur still has on many Japanese.

That may change, Kaho acknowledged. "The younger generation, I don't think they know about him," he said.

Moscow dissidents said Arme-

nians in Yerevan staged a demon-

stration to demand Mr. Airikyan's

release, but attempts to reach for

the Armenian capital late Monday for additional information were unsuc-

cessful.

In Armenia, protest leaders who last month rallied hundreds of thousands of people in sympathy with their kin in Nagorno-Karabakh abandoned plans to renew their public demonstrations last Saturday after authorities sent troops into the streets.

Meanwhile, dissidents in Moscow said that Parur Airikyan, an Armenian nationalist active in those demonstrations, had been charged in Yerevan with disseminating "anti-Soviet slanders."

The statute against slandering the state, which carries a prison term of up to three years, has fallen into disuse since Soviet authorities released scores of political prisoners early last year.

Mr. Airikyan has been an out-

spoken critic of the official han-

dling the Armenian demands, and has publicly charged the govern-

ment with responsibility for the

Sumgait rioting that left many Ar-

ménians dead.

Moscow dissidents said Arme-

nians in Yerevan staged a demon-

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release, but attempts to reach for

the Armenian capital late Monday for additional information were unsuc-

cessful.

The Communist Party newspaper

Pravda reported that workers in Stepanakert had disrupted rail traffic throughout the region by refusing to unload cargo at the city station.

As of Sunday, the report said, 93

freight cars of flour, lumber, ce-



Two Kurdish protesters were pushed into a van by police after a rally in Vienna on Monday. Ken Edwards/Reuters

WORLD BRIEFS

French Hostage Talks Are Rumor

PARIS (Reuters) — Interior Minister Charles Pasqua cut short a trip to Africa on Monday amid reports that France may be negotiating the release of three of its citizens held hostage in Lebanon.

Interior Ministry officials said Mr. Pasqua was returning to because Prime Minister Jacques Chirac was leaving for a long-sch visit to French overseas territories. Mr. Chirac, the Gaullist cank upcoming presidential elections, has denied that any deal on the h is being negotiated.

Interior Ministry sources said, however, that a link betwe surprise cancellation of the visit and three French hostages in Lebanon could not be excluded. Mr. Pasqua has been closely involved in the liberation of other hostages held in Lebanon.

Portugal Is Paralyzed by Huge Strike

LISBON (Reuters) — About two million workers staged the b strike in Portugal's history on Monday in a bid to stop planned char labor law, union officials said.

The strike was the first action ever organized jointly by bot Communists-led General Confederation of Portuguese Workers and mainly Socialist General Workers Union. More than half of Port 4.5 million workers belong to the two groups.

Public transport was worst affected with almost no buses, trams running. More than 40 flights from Lisbon's airport canceled. Minimum bus and Metro services in the capital failed to until after the morning rush hour. The strike was almost total in the and in nationalized industries such as chemicals, steel and ship-build

U.S. Awaits a Response on Afghanistan

GENEVA (Reuters) — The United States is awaiting a Soviet res to its proposals to break the deadlock at UN-sponsored talks on Afstan, a U.S. official said Monday. "I don't personally know what Soviet reaction is going to be, or how they propose to proceed," Robert Peck, U.S. deputy assistant secretary of state, as he arrre fresh discussions with Diego Cordóvez, UN mediator.

The talks, aimed at getting the estimated 115,000 Soviet troops c Afghanistan, have stalled over U.S.-Pakistan insistence that Moscow military supplies to the Afghan government in symmetry with any aid cuts to Afghan rebels.

Moscow has agreed to pull out its soldiers, but the Soviet fo minister, Eduard A. Shevardnadze rejected several proposals on mi side made last week in Washington by the U.S. secretary of state, G. P. Shultz.

Libya to Recall Egypt Border Troop

LONDON (UPI) — Colonel Muammar Gadhafi said Monday that he was ordering the withdrawal of all Libyan forces from the Egyptian border area, but he ruled out the restoration of full diplomatic relations with Cairo.

The planned withdrawal of Libyans was the latest in a series of moves taken by Libya and Egypt in recent weeks to improve relations, which were broken off in 1977 following Egyptian talks with Israel.

Colonel Gadhafi made the announcement at the former British military base at Tobruk during cermonies marking the 18th anniversary of the eviction of British troops from Libya. He did not give a timetable for the withdrawal, and the Egyptian government had no immediate comment.

For the Record

An anonymous buyer paid \$4.84 million (\$9.1 million) on Monday Modigliani's "The Portrait of Mario" at an auction at Christie's London. It was the highest price ever paid for a work by the Italian art

The painting that had been given star billing for the sale, "Wesker Carrying Laundry" by Degas, was sold for \$3.96 million, less it expected. Its buyer also chose to remain anonymous.

TRAVEL UPDATE

Japanese Airline Increases Flights

TOKYO (Reuters) — All Nippon Airways Co. will increase frequency of its overseas flights, a company spokesman said Monday.

The airline will add one weekly flight to both Sydney and Washington starting in April, for a total of two flights a week to Sydney and five Washington. Starting in June, flights to Beijing will be increased from three to five a week, to Hong Kong from four to seven a week and Guangzhou from six to seven a week, the spokesman said.

British Seamen Cancel Strike Vote

LONDON (AP) — Britain's National Union of Seamen called a strike vote of its 20,000 members Monday following a second High Court ruling to block the ballot, ending the threat of a nationwide strike during the busy Easter holiday period.

The judge said the union was trying to induce members to a unlawful secondary strike action in support of 2,300 striking seafarers P&O's ferry operations at Dover. French seamen of Sealink, meanwhile, continued a 10-day strike.

Correction

Because of a reporting error, an article in the March 22 editions ab Volkswagen AG incorrectly characterized the position of Noel Philp, chief executive and president of its U.S. subsidiary, Volkswagen America. He remains in those posts.

West Germans Hold 6 As Soviet Spy Suspects

By Serge Schneemann
New York Times Service

BONN — West Germany announced the arrest of six suspected Soviet spies Monday, including four Soviet emigrants and an engineer who may have passed along information about two jet-fighter projects.

Announcing the arrests at a news conference in Karlsruhe, the West German federal prosecutor, Kurt Rehmann, described them as "a major penetration of the KGB's spy network" and "the biggest blow to the Soviet secret service since the establishment of the federal republic."

BRIEFS / CAMPAIGN BASICS / Jesse L. Jackson

The Race So Far

Gained most of his delegates by capturing close to 90 percent of the black vote in many states, notably the South, where he won six primaries and caucuses and finished second in most of the others. Has stayed surprisingly competitive in Northern and Midwestern primaries, recently finishing second in Illinois and winning decisively in the Michigan caucuses. If not nominated, will be a crucial power broker. Has the highest number of popular votes and 597.55 of 2,082 delegate votes needed for the nomination. Remains neck and neck with Governor Michael S. Dukakis of Massachusetts in delegates.

Profile

Democrat Age 46. Baptist minister in the revivalist tradition. Never held public office. Civil rights activist widely seen as moral and political heir to the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. Has campaigned widely against drug abuse and teen-age pregnancy among blacks with motivational speeches. A populist in style and policy. His agenda would reverse the major trends of the Reagan years. Has championed the cause of bankrupt farmers and the poor. His pan-ethnic "Rainbow Coalition" failed to materialize in his 1984 presidential bid, but his voter registration drive delivered many more blacks to the polls. Has sought to patch relations with Jews after using the slur "Hymie town" to refer to New York City in 1984. Negotiated the release of a navy pilot held in Lebanon and prisoners from Cuba.

Verbatim

"I come from a tradition of those who march in solidarity for jobs and peace and justice. In the '60s we marched for civil rights; in the '80s we marched for workers' rights. In the '60s we marched to end racial violence; today we march to end economic violence. Workers of America must have a right to a job and get paid, with security, for the work that you do. The American worker is not asking for welfare, he's asking for a fair share — not for charity but for parity. □ We're caught between cheap labor at home and slave labor abroad, in South Korea, Taiwan or South Africa . . . If we can bail out Chrysler and New York City and Europe and Japan, we can bail out the family farm . . . South Koreans did not take jobs from us GM took jobs to them — with government incentives. They close down a plant in America, they get a tax break. They take a job to South Korea, they get another tax break. They took our jobs, our capital, our tax base, our hopes and our dreams. □ How many of you own a VCR? Raise your hand. There's not one American-made VCR. Hands down, it's not your fault. How many of you own or know someone who owns an MX missile? Raise your hand. Why are we in a deficit? We're making what's not nobody buying. Let's make sense, and then we'll make money . . . We can cut Midegan misuses, \$45 billion. We don't need it and can't afford it. We've got 13 aircraft carriers. Russia's got one. Reagan wants to make two more. It will cost \$40 billion. You could wipe out poverty for every woman, infant and child in America for \$36 billion. I choose to wipe out poverty. □ Workers, it's time for a change. Stop drugs flowing in and stop jobs from flowing out. It's time for a change. Stop closing down American farms and importing food. It's time for a change. Stop destroying oil tankers in the Persian Gulf and shutting oil wells in Texas. It's



time for a change. Give the working men and women a break. It's time for a change."

On the Issues

Foreign Policy: Believes in self-determination, rule of international law and human rights. Opposes all contral aid. Wants additional economic sanctions against South Africa and would encourage other nations to join an economic boycott of South Africa. Would end aid to Angolan rebels. Favors an independent Palestinian state with guarantees of Israeli security. Would not have invaded Grenada or bombed Libya. Favors debt relief and a "Marshall Plan" for Third World.

Defense/Arms Control: Supports INF Treaty, a moratorium on arms testing, further nuclear arms reductions after a 50 percent cut in strategic missiles by Washington and Moscow. Supports cuts in military spending. Opposes building two new aircraft carriers and the MX, Midegan and Trident D-3 missiles. Favors research on the Strategic Defense Initiative but opposes deployment. Would demand that Europe and Japan pay more for their defense.

Budget/Economy/Taxes: Wants to shift spending from military to social programs. Favors oil-import tax, higher income-tax rate for the wealthy and an excise tax on luxury goods, in addition to a rollback of many corporate tax cuts passed in 1981. Extra funds would be used in part to reduce the budget deficit. Would use 10 percent, or \$60 billion, from public employee pension funds to invest in public works projects.

Trade: Wants a tax incentive to dissuade corporations from investing abroad and would pressure trading partners to increase wages.

Domestic Policy: Wants more grants and work-study programs for low-income students. Would halt family-farm foreclosures and protect workers from sudden plant closings. Favors increasing the \$3.35 minimum wage and backs universal health insurance. Opposes routine mandatory AIDS testing. Wants a drug "czar" and increased funding for the Coast Guard and Border Patrol to curb narcotics trafficking.

Compiled by Paul Horvitz

DEMOCRATS: Jackson Becomes Strong Contender

(Continued from Page 1)

would be for a mainstream, white candidate to take command of the nomination contest in the 10 weeks of primaries and caucuses ahead.

But with 32 state contests now over, that has not happened yet.

And while Mr. Dukakis is by far the best-funded and best-positioned white candidate heading into the final stretch, his 28 percent showing in Michigan on Saturday, sitting on the heels of his third-place, 17 percent showing in the Illinois primary two weeks ago, has raised some doubts about his \$20 million campaign.

"He's the candidate with the most money and the least to say," aid William Carrick, the campaign manager for Mr. Gephardt, stating that is widely held among Democratic Party leaders and professionals.

Mr. Dukakis' attempt to portray himself as the candidate of inevitability was damaged in Michigan and could be wrecked even before the April 19 primary in New York if he suffers a highly improbable defeat in Connecticut on Tuesday, a loss that is hardly conceivable in Wisconsin on April 5.

In Connecticut, Mr. Dukakis, as he did in Michigan, the support of most prominent elected

Democratic officials. He is a strong favorite to win and is far ahead in the public opinion surveys.

The next two states could be more difficult for Mr. Dukakis and more promising for Mr. Jackson.

In Wisconsin, an early survey published in the Milwaukee Journal showed Mr. Dukakis running only 8 percentage points ahead of Mr. Jackson, who was receiving 25 percent of the white vote.

Representative David R. Obey, Democrat of Wisconsin, a Gephardt supporter, said Sunday that Mr. Jackson could pull a big vote in the state, not just in black wards of Milwaukee, but in Madison, where the main campus of the University of Wisconsin is located in Kenosha, where Mr. Jackson had led protests against the closing of a Chrysler factory, and among hard-pressed farmers and impoverished workers in the Lake Superior region.

New York shapes up as a three-way battle for Mr. Jackson, Mr. Dukakis and Mr. Gore. Mr. Gore has raised the stakes by signing on Mr. Cuomo's advertising specialist, David Garth, and committing himself to a reported \$1 million television advertising campaign.

Despite the challenges ahead, the Dukakis camp maintained an air of confidence. "It may take a little longer," said Mr. Dukakis' communications director, Leslie Dach, "but ultimately the result will be the same: Dukakis will be nominated."

"We're going to continue on the same course," said his field director, Tad Devine.

Such comments barely reflected the tone of shock and consternation with which many Democratic governors and congressional leaders greeted the news of Mr. Jackson's victory in Michigan.

Peter Hart, a Democratic pollster, said Mr. Dukakis could build momentum at this point only from the voters, not party leaders. "We have one candidate who needs to expand his message," Mr. Hart said, "and the other who needs to expand his base."

His comment about Mr. Jackson reflected the candidate's central test in the primaries ahead: Can he reach beyond the silvers of white voters he has gained so far and dip into a bigger pool of the white constituency?

Mr. Jackson said he was poised to do just that. For whites to vote for him is a "rite of passage," he said, and once pioneer that passage in places like Iowa and Michigan, it will be easier for others to follow.

THE HUSTINGS

Real Test for Jackson Lies Ahead

DETROIT (NYT) — There is room to doubt whether the Reverend Jesse L. Jackson will succeed as well in New York, which elects 255 convention delegates on April 19, and in Pennsylvania, which chooses 178 delegates a week later, as he did in Michigan, an election analyst said. The reason is the difference in election systems. Michigan used "caucus" benefit candidates whose supporters are highly motivated," said David W. Rhode, a professor of political science at Michigan State University with particular expertise in Michigan politics, "and in this regard Jesse's were the only people who were motivated. He's a real candidate and he's going to remain one. But now things change. We go from Michigan, with a system that rewards strong but narrow support, to a system that rewards thin but widespread support."

Bush Shifts Focus to the Convention

WASHINGTON (WP) — With the Republican presidential nomination all but in hand, Vice President George Bush has begun moving to assume control of the national party apparatus and the August convention, while also using the remainder of the primary season to lay the groundwork for his fall campaign, according to his political strategists. Mr. Bush has asked Fred V. Malek, a Marriott Corp. executive, to lead his convention team. Mr. Malek was a top aide to H. R. Haldeman in President Richard M. Nixon's first term, and developed a controversial "responsiveness program" aimed at using federal government resources and personnel to help ensure Mr. Nixon's re-election.

The Senate Watergate Committee condemned the plan as going well beyond the usual political uses of the government, and Mr. Malek, when nominated by President Ronald Reagan for a seat on the Postal Service Board of Governors in 1982, acknowledged it was a mistake and said he

shouldn't have been nominated.

Other documents released on the Nixon years also disclosed that Mr. Malek had a role in running an anti-leak operation in the Nixon White

U.S.-Japan Talks on Beef and Citrus Near Wire

By Clyde Haberman
New York Times Service

TOKYO — Japanese leaders rejected U.S. demands on Monday that they remove all quotas on beef and citrus imports, but they left the door open for possible concessions as negotiations with Washington reached a conclusive issue.

The beef-and-citrus issue is a recurring source of rancor between the two countries, but mutual unhappiness is running uncommonly high this time.

Among Japanese politicians, there is an air of near crisis with only three days to go before the expiration of a four-year-old agreement covering agricultural imports.

Senior members of the government and the ruling Liberal Democratic Party met Monday and

agreed that they could not accept an American demand that restrictions on beef and citrus be eliminated outright over the next two or three years.

For months, the Japanese had said that the best they could do was to expand their quotas. Although their position did not change, the tone of their remarks suggested a willingness to compromise.

"Voices opposing the liberalization of the markets are very strong within the LDP," said Shintaro Abe, the party's secretary-general and a possible future candidate for prime minister. "But I think it is important now that the politicians have direct talks."

It was agreed that the Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, Takashi Sato, would leave for Washington on Tuesday to begin 11-hour talks.

A few days ago Japan's main farm lobbying group, the Central Union of Agricultural Cooperatives, produced a videotape claiming that chemical preservatives in imported American food were making Japanese children ill.

A U.S. trade negotiator, Daniel G. Amstutz, was quoted last weekend in Tokyo as telling the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the videotape was "insidious."

To a great extent, Japanese politicians feel trapped between two powerful pressure groups — Washington on one side, and the domestic farm lobby on the other. Rural Japan has traditionally been a pillar of the ruling party. Although its influence has waned in recent years, ranking Liberal Democrats do not feel secure enough to jettison the farm vote entirely.

But they also must cope with a tougher American posture. U.S. trade officials insist they will not even permit substantive discussions unless Japan first agrees to abandon government protections for beef and citrus farmers.

The Americans also say that unless they get satisfaction they will take their case to an international trade tribunal, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Some Japanese politicians are hoping that the Reagan Administration will do just that.

They reason that if they were to lose they could then tell farmers that it was not their fault that quotas had to be scrapped. Moreover, heavy surcharges and tariffs would probably continue to be imposed no matter what happens, making the price of imported beef and oranges so high that domestic demand would probably not grow swiftly.

Despite some sentiment in Tokyo to call the American bluff by fighting it out before GATT, it would be out of character for Japanese leaders to seek direct confrontation.

That is especially true of the cautious prime minister, Noboru Takeshita. And so the emphasis at the government and ruling-party meeting on Monday was on reaching a negotiated settlement before the present agreement expires on Thursday.

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In Indonesia, a New Economic Lineup

By Barbara Crossette
New York Times Service

BANGKOK — When President Suharto of Indonesia reshuffled his cabinet last week, a large proportion of the changes, some of them puzzling, occurred in the economic portfolios.

Energy Minister Subroto, a strong voice for moderation in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, was replaced by Gimjanjar Kartasasmita, whose experience has been in domestic development and foreign investment.

Mr. Gimjanjar, 47, the former investment chief, had been thought to be in line for the top job at the Ministry of Industry. Indonesia is trying to move away from dependence on exports of oil and gas, and is putting greater emphasis on industrial development.

The appointment of Mr. Gimjanjar to the mining and energy post was one of two moves most likely to affect Indonesia's international economic relations. The other was the resignation from the cabinet of Ali Wardhana, the highly regarded coordinating minister for economy, finance and industry.

Mr. Wardhana, a graduate of the University of California at Berkeley, was viewed as an internationalist who had opened Indonesia to foreign trade and investment.

Mr. Gimjanjar is regarded as an economic nationalist. Fears immediately arose after his appointment

that he would be less loyal than his predecessor to OPEC pricing decisions.

But in his first public statement after his appointment, Mr. Gimjanjar, who was educated in Japan and speaks Japanese, said he had no intention of going to Tokyo to make separate energy deals that would undercut OPEC. Japan is the largest buyer of Indonesian oil and gas. About 40 percent of Indonesia's domestic revenues come from oil and gas exports.

Economic and political analysts in Jakarta say that the Energy Ministry, revamped after a scandal shocked the national oil company in the 1970s, is staffed by experts with considerable experience who are

legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and envisages an active and committed American role in bringing about comprehensive peace."

The main shortcomings of the plan he said, were its failure to spell out the right of self-determination for Palestinians or to specify a role in the peace process for the PLO.

Mr. Said stated that he was "not a card-carrying PLO member" but that he supported the PLO among Palestinians and had informed its permanent members of the United Nations Security Council to receive reports on the talks but not to dictate terms of any agreement.

Mr. Arafat urged the two men to raise the issue of a recent administration decision to comply with a congressional law ordering the closing of the PLO office at the United Nations, Mr. Said said.

But Mr. Said remarked that he had seen Mr. Shultz "as an American citizen" and considered Mr. Shamir's protest "arrogant and particularly galling since his government is the largest recipient of American aid and its troops are killing Palestinians."

Mr. Said called the PLO "the Palestinian national authority, having the functions of government but lacking sovereignty," and he described Mr. Arafat as "the great symbol of Palestinian nationalism."

Mr. Said stated that the main message that he and Mr. Abu-Lughod conveyed to Mr. Shultz was that the Palestinian people were prepared to coexist with Israel if their self-determination was insured by a Middle East peace plan.

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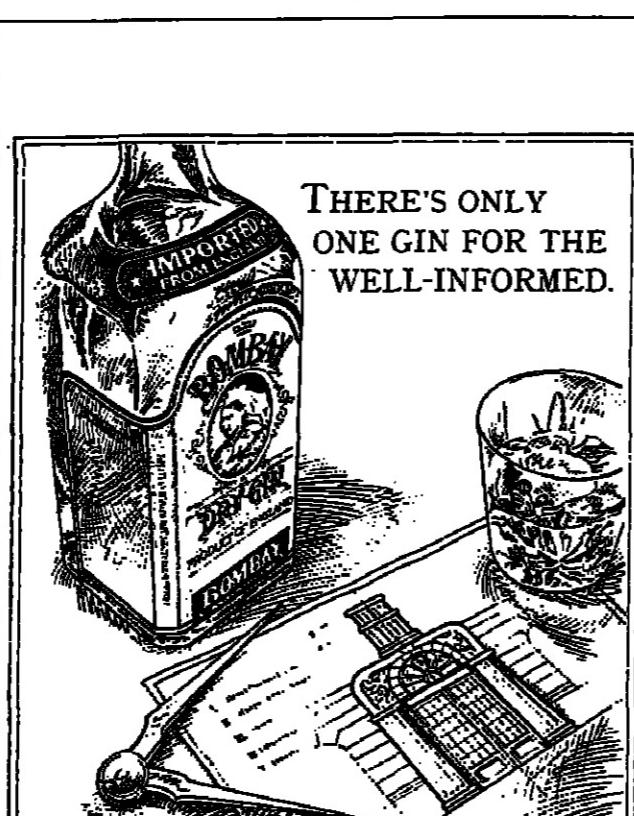
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Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

Ozone: A Close Call

For years, environmentalists warned the chemical industry that chlorofluorocarbons were destroying the ozone layer. The industry, led in this case by E.I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., brushed the critics off. Now comes new evidence that the problem is even worse than thought, and du Pont, having been the chief offender, becomes the leading convert to the other side. The company announced the other day that it now supports "an orderly transition to a total phaseout" of the most harmful of these compounds. It is hard to know quite how to react. The new position is laudable, but the old may turn out to have been disastrous.

The frightening aspect of the story is not just what appears to be happening to the ozone layer, but how familiar the pattern is. The modern week is not complete without its warning that another substance or practice of some kind, somewhere, threatens world health. The warned-against industry just as regularly says the evidence is ephemeral or incomplete. Often the industry is right, as for a long time it was in this case. That doesn't mean the warnings are wrong.

Chlorofluorocarbons, or CFCs, were first produced in the 1930s. The gases are used in refrigeration, air conditioning, insulation and the making of various foam products. With the possible exception of some foam containers, who would want to do without these things? The CFCs have the further virtues of being cheap, nonflammable, non-toxic and remarkably long-lasting. But this long-lasting part is also their down side. When vented, as almost all eventually are, they slowly rise into the stratosphere to mix

with and weaken the ozone layer, which protects Earth from ultraviolet rays. Scientists think that this thinning out of the ozone layer will mean more skin cancer and possibly serious damage to plant life.

In recent years the evidence of the thinning out has become much stronger. This month a new report said there had been losses of as much as 3 to 5 percent in some parts of the globe in just the past 10 or 20 years. That implies much greater future losses, since huge amounts of CFCs are still rising in the atmosphere or have not been vented yet. The weakening already in train is likely to last well into the next century.

du Pont, which believes it has found, and in a few years may be able to produce, a substitute for CFCs, had already endorsed a freeze and cut in world CFC production. So had the rest of the U.S. industry, and the Reagan administration last year negotiated a treaty to achieve a 50 percent cut in world production in 10 years, which the Senate approved this month. That was a formidable accomplishment, but further cuts are needed. A tightening of the treaty is the right way to achieve this, although the industry, sensing an eager market, may already be bent on finding safe substitutes as quickly as it can. There may also be means of limiting further venting.

The harder lesson is that the environmentalists need not be right all the time to be right enough. There is a limit to what can be spewed into the air and earth and water and still have them support us. The world may have been lucky this time around.

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

Afghanistan Puzzle

The countdown on Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan is producing turbulence in both Washington and Moscow. In Washington, the widespread and realistic expectation was and is that as Soviet troops depart, the regime they created is likely to crumble. And that new arms could not be nearly as important to Kabul as the stockpiles the Soviets are preparing to leave behind. For these reasons, the question of further Soviet arms deliveries has not been considered of paramount importance.

Nonetheless, when withdrawal started becoming a real prospect some months ago, the Reagan administration began to firm up its position on post-withdrawal aid. Perhaps the risk was remote that a Kabul regime that was failing even with full, direct Soviet support would suddenly turn tiger and, on its own, use fresh aid to deny a newly cut off (though heavily stockpiled) resistance what it had been promised. Still, the administration found it reasonable not to take an unnecessary risk. Moreover, heavy-breathing conservatives who believe that an inattentive Ronald Reagan is vulnerable to being hoodwinked by the strip-pants set have been turning up the heat lately, and the administration is responding.

The Soviets don't like it. They claim that

they had a deal and Washington reneged. Actually, they had a deal with an asterisk. The United States agreed to stop arming the resistance as Soviet forces withdraw, as long as other provisions of the accord were acceptable. But there seems little doubt that Washington is in fact toughening its terms.

Toughening them to a point at which Moscow will suspend its decision to leave Afghanistan? There is less Soviet complaint over other aspects of the Afghan package. The United States has, for instance, helped persuade Pakistan to modify its position on a new Afghan coalition. And the considerations that first brought Moscow to decide to withdraw — cutting losses, putting on a new face — presumably still hold. The Soviets could yet pull out unilaterally, without an agreement with Washington; that has pluses for them and minuses.

Still, the sequence gives this administration, and the next, something to ponder. A negotiation involves a back and forth, but there is a limit to the pressures that can be applied without imperiling the main benefit of the transaction or inviting retaliatory pressure in other crisis spots. Those are the delicate calculations which the Reagan administration has to keep in mind.

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

A Pilotless Lemon

The Pentagon spends billions in developing high-tech weapons to offset the Soviet edge in numbers. To understand how perverse this vital agenda is pursued, consider the death of the Aquila, a pilotless plane that the army has been developing for 14 years. It is one of the few new weapons canceled in the new defense budget.

Pilotless planes, also called "remotely piloted vehicles" or RPVs, were used bravely by the Israeli army in the 1982 invasion of Lebanon. Its Masifats — essentially model planes equipped with a Sony television camera — pinpointed Syrian missile sites for artillery to obliterate. For lack of RPVs, the United States lost two pilots in an attack on Syrian missiles in Lebanon. Its battleships were useless since the spotter plane that was needed to direct their gunfire would have been shot down. RPVs, like the Masifat, fly too high to be seen and are made of plastic that is invisible to radar. They are invaluable for many tasks that would put planes and pilots at severe risk, and are far cheaper. They can monitor battlefields, and jam or deceive radars. Given recent advances in computers and microelectronics, they are an ideal vehicle for carrying U.S. technological prowess into the battlefield. The Pentagon's neglect of RPVs illustrates several endemic pathologies.

Designing for parades, not battles. Pilots like to fly planes. The pilots who run the air force and naval aviation have resisted RPVs except as practice targets. Yet surely the services would welcome RPVs in tasks that could get pilots killed? Of course they do: in the Vietnam War, RPVs flew some 3,000 reconnaissance missions. But that was wartime. RPVs were dropped, and by 1981 the

Pentagon had none that were operational. *Leaving the army desperate for air support.* The air force has never been interested in the dull, slow-flying planes needed to support ground troops, yet it refuses to let the army build its own. Hence the army was the only service interested in RPVs, and in 1974 began its Aquila program. Hear a sorry tale.

Making good designs. Each service has a bloated design bureaucracy employing thousands. Each bureau strives to add on new sensors, armor, flares and furbelows. The costlier a program gets, the more power to the program officer. The Aquila (Latin for "eagle") is a prime example of this ruinous process. Development costs soared from \$12.3 million in 1978 to nearly \$1 billion by 1987. The unit price rose from \$100,000 to a staggering \$1.8 million.

Eagle to turkey. Israel's Tadiran Limited took five years and \$300,000 to develop the Masifat into a superbly effective weapon. In contrast, Lockheed, under the army's direction, turned the Aquila into a turkey. The General Accounting Office reported that in tests last year the Aquila proved hard to launch, regularly failed to detect its targets and successfully completed only seven out of 105 flights. After 14 years, it is such a disaster that even the Pentagon proposes to cancel it.

The navy now says that RPVs are essential for its resurrected battleships to be of more than ceremonial use, and has bought RPVs from Israel. Why isn't every branch of the services vigorously exploring the use of these smart, cheap, effective, high-tech weapons? Is it only in wartime that the armed services entertain the idea of buying weapons that will help American soldiers prevail in battle?

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Other Comment

A Force Because He Is Black

Jesse Jackson's stunning victory in Michigan has altered the appearance of the American political landscape. His success is a symbol of what a black American can achieve. Self-respect has been his theme, and first of all that theme has been directed to his fellow blacks. It is said that he could not be elected president because he is black, and that for that reason the Democrats will

not nominate him. In fact, he is a contender only because he is black; without the solid base of votes from members of his own race, he would not be a candidate at all. The Democrats' dilemma after Michigan is to hold the support of Mr. Jackson's constituency without seeming to spurn the man himself. A stop-Jesse movement among white politicians could all too easily be interpreted as racially motivated.

— The Independent (London).

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OPINION



Beware of Small Wars With a Potential to Grow

By Michael Klare and Peter Kornbluh

WASHINGTON — After the INF agreement and other indications of diminished U.S.-Soviet hostility, it has become fashionable among American strategists and policymakers to emphasize the need for an improved capacity to engage in small regional conflicts.

Characteristic of this trend is the report of the U.S. Commission on Integrated Long-Term Strategy, released in early January. "In the coming decades," the report notes, "the United States will need to be better prepared to deal with conflicts in the Third World." Because such conflicts can arise at any time, "the Pentagon must give preference to more mobile and versatile forces." Similar views have been expressed by other American strategists, including Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci.

Now the trend has begun to emerge as policy. Without waiting to clarify the situation on the ground or obtain congressional support, President Reagan recently rushed 3,000 U.S. "quick reaction" troops to Honduras. The troops included two battalions from the 7th Infantry Division at Fort Ord, California, one of four

light infantry divisions created specifically for fast deployment to Third World conflict zones. Titled an "emergency exercise" by White House officials, the Honduras operation was symptomatic of the interventionist approach that we can expect if low-intensity conflicts become top U.S. military priority in the years ahead.

Much of this seems to suggest that there is some sort of universal law of undiminishing global violence — that if the superpowers somehow manage to moderate tensions in the East-West arena, then we must expect a proportionate increase in North-South conflict. If Mikhail S. Gorbachev and his policies last, military commentator Drew Middleton has written, "it would appear that we face a period in which our armed forces must be prepared to fight all over the world in relatively minor encounters."

Such comment has been well received at the Pentagon, where there is understandable concern that better U.S.-Soviet relations will result in diminished military spending. To demonstrate its responsiveness to the new

very deceptive about all this. The adoption of "contingency" plans for limited U.S. intervention in low-level conflicts can unleash pressures for sudden intervention in local feuds that are best left untouched. What looks at first like a "minor" affair can easily grow into something far more serious.

These initiatives have been accompanied by the development of military doctrine for low-intensity conflict, or LIC (pronounced "lick"). The doctrine draws heavily on the counterinsurgency strategy of the early Vietnam War years, but also on lessons learned in Central America, the Falklands, Lebanon and Afghanistan. The earlier strategy addressed counterinsurgency operations only, but current LIC doctrine encompasses a much wider range of activities, including "pro-insurgency" (i.e., support for anti-Communist insurgents), counterterrorism, narcotics interdiction and "police" operations of the Grenada type.

This emphasis on low-level combat can seem reassuring. Instead of focusing on doomsday scenarios and unlikely European contingencies, the Pentagon is looking at the common, everyday sorts of conflict that beset the real world. But there is something

very deceptive about all this. The adoption of "contingency" plans for limited U.S. intervention in low-level conflicts can unleash pressures for sudden intervention in local feuds that are best left untouched. What looks at first like a "minor" affair can easily grow into something far more serious.

In the late 1950s, U.S. strategists

expressed similar concerns about coping with low-level conflict. In a 1958

report for the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Henry Kissinger suggested that nuclear retaliation was not an effective deterrent to limited war and that therefore America must "develop units that can intervene rapidly and that are able to make their power felt with discrimination and versatility."

Language that bears a striking resemblance to the 1988 strategy report quoted above (of which, incidentally, Mr. Kissinger was a principal author).

On the earlier occasion, Mr. Kissinger's advice was greeted with enthusiasm by the young policy makers who converged on Washington after the election of John Kennedy. As the early 1960s progressed, the president shared this enthusiasm and became an advocate of counterinsurgency. He approved a major expansion of counterinsurgency operations in South Vietnam, thus setting the stage for the great tragedy to come.

The danger is that the current enthusiasm for LIC doctrine will generate a similar propensity for intervention in Third World conflicts. If we use the Pentagon's definition of low-intensity conflict, we find that the United States is now (or has recently been) involved in LIC operations in Afghanistan, Angola, Cambodia, Chad, El Salvador, Grenada, Honduras, Lebanon, Libya, Nicaragua, the Philippines and the Gulf area.

With few exceptions, all these conflicts entail a significant risk of escalation. If U.S.-backed counterinsurgency efforts fail — say, in El Salvador or the Philippines — there would be strong pressure in Washington to defend the oil-rich Arab states — which in theory is not likely soon. For now, the best hope is that the Soviets will ultimately continue to limit the number and types of weapons provided to Syria, and that they will insist that Syria's SS-2s not be fitted with chemical warheads. In turn, the United States might ultimately urge Israel not to develop the Jericho-2, which in theory can reach the Soviet Union.

In the absence of a U.S.-Soviet partnership, the qualitative arms race will accelerate. Most Third World leaders have a jaundiced opinion of U.S. and Soviet policy toward regional conflict and arms control. That attitude could change if the superpowers made genuine cuts in nuclear and conventional arsenals, but even optimists know that such a happening is years away.

If the regional arms race continues, the chances are high that the new weapons some day will be used in anger. The tragedy is that no one takes events in the Middle East seriously until it is nearly too late.

If the regional arms race continues, the chances are high that the new weapons some day will be used in anger. The tragedy is that no one takes events in the Middle East seriously until it is nearly too late.

The writer, a senior associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, was special assistant to President Reagan for national security affairs from 1981 to 1984. He contributed this comment to *The Washington Post*.

which was approved in April last year by seven Western industrial powers. This is designed to restrict access to missile technology that could be used to deliver nuclear weapons.

A formal U.S.-Soviet agreement to de-escalate the Syrian-Israeli arms race is unlikely unless Moscow is brought directly into the peace process — which is not likely soon. For now, the best hope is that the Soviets will ultimately continue to limit the number and types of weapons provided to Syria, and that they will insist that Syria's SS-2s not be fitted with chemical warheads. In turn, the United States might ultimately urge Israel not to develop the Jericho-2, which in theory can reach the Soviet Union.

A similar dilemma exists with Israel. President Reagan has said many times that Israel should be provided with a "qualitative edge" in its military relationship with the Arabs. For Israel's critics, "qualitative edge" is a code word for Israel's nuclear weapons program. Until the U.S. Congress pursues the facts on the Israeli nuclear program with the same diligence it deserves — as South Korea, Taiwan, Pakistan and India — the United States will have limited credibility as an advocate of nonproliferation.

If both superpowers want to restrict the flow of lethal technology, they could in theory agree to a moratorium on the transfer of certain categories of weapons. The Soviets might wish to associate themselves with the Missile Technology Control Regime

andants passed the word that the governor had to expand his message and improve his campaigning before they could bail him out.

What added to the Democrats' frustration was that they had just heard New York's Governor Mario Cuomo, their party's spokesman of the evening, toss off one of those delightful, engaging and, in the final moments, sentimental speeches that he, like Ronald Reagan, seems to do so easily, a speech that touches the heart and not just the mind.

Mr. Cuomo was on the verge of endorsing Mr. Dukakis before the Michigan vote, but pulled back as he heard reports of Mr. Jackson's evident strength in the state. Now it appears unlikely that he will lend Mr. Dukakis a hand before the New York primary on April 19.

As they talked in the hotel suites Saturday night, the Democrats said that just maybe, if Mr. Dukakis recovered in Connecticut and Wisconsin, Mr. Cuomo still might come to his aid. Or, if Mr. Jackson continued to win the primaries, perhaps Mr. Jackson would not want the nomination, knowing he would be blamed for a loss to George Bush. Perhaps he would instead make a dramatic convention floor speech nominating Mr. Cuomo and asking his delegates to support the New Yorker in the interest of parity and a November victory.

Seeking out Mr. Dukakis's partisans, he switched briefly to his formula promise of "good jobs with good wages" but said nothing about the abandoned auto plants whose empty hulks dominate and

surrounded by Detroit.

The governor attempted to establish his ethnic links to the crowd by talking about his recent visit to Ellis Island, where his Greek-born parents immigrated, but the response was chilly. He switched briefly to

his formula promise of "good jobs with good wages" but said nothing about the abandoned auto plants whose empty hulks dominate and

surrounded by Detroit.

It is called whistling in the dark. The Democrats are doing a lot of it these days.

The Washington Post.

Democrats passed the word that the governor had to expand his message and improve his campaigning before they could bail him out.

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In Israel
The Future
In Question

Why It Isn't Time to Help The Nice Man in Moscow

By William Safire

SAN FRANCISCO — On April 15, 1986, when U.S. bombers gave a permanent headache to Libya's Moammar Gadhafi, Bill Casey brought a group of non-CIA economists in to see the president. As bombs fell on Tripoli, statistics about the Soviet economy remained on Robert Reagan.

"What does all this mean?" he asked at the hourlong presentation ended.

It means the outside consultants explained that the conventional wisdom about the Soviet Union's strength was wrong. Instead of steadily growing, production had been stagnant for years.

This meant further that the new leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, would soon be faced with an internal crisis. He would have to shake up the economic system radically to force new growth, or accept a reduction in what was becoming an unsustainable level of military spending. Soviet economic weakness could profoundly affect arms talks and the maintenance of the empire from Afghanistan to Cuba.

The president wanted to know what the effect of this new interpretation would be on his policy planners.

"They'll say, 'Help this nice man,'" replied one of the economists. Mr. Reagan nodded: "I know," the Genscher line.

(He was referring to the Ostpolitik urgings of West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who is eager to finance the revival of Moscow's trade.)

That was just two years ago, when Mr. Reagan presided over an administration split between Defense-CIA-NSC hand-

lers and the accommodationists at State. Then, a year ago, an iconoclast among Soviet academicians, Grigori Khamin, was permitted to publish in Novy Mir a refutation of all past Soviet figures, exposing the use of hidden inflation "figure-padding and price manipulation" — in estimating growth rates. CIA analysts responded; their own estimates for 1986 were closely in line with the earlier, officially rosy Soviet figures, which were in the process of being discredited.

A couple of weeks ago, as reported in this space (IHT, Feb. 26), Mr. Gorbachev put his stamp on the gloomy Khamin account in a speech to the Central Committee. If the Russian leader can be believed, the Soviet economy is about one-fourth smaller today than Soviet statisticians — and U.S. intelligence analysts — have led us to believe.

Last week, at the Hoover Institution in Palo Alto, the best-of-the-West analysts of the Soviet economy held a friendly intellectual shoot-out.

Henry Rowen, a Stanford University professor and former Rand Corporation president who ran studies for the CIA a few years ago, was the organizer. Charles Wolf of Rand, co-editor with Mr. Rowen of "The Future of the Soviet Empire," coming out next month, presented a paper that shows, among other summers, how China is likely to outproduce the Soviet Union soon after the year 2000. Richard Ericson of Columbia University's Harriman Institute was; I am told, a star performer, along with a Swedish economist,



I want to take to lunch. The agency had

underground facilities and the "cost of empire" is still less than 20 percent; the Team B estimate ranges from 25 up to 35 percent of all production. (U.S. spending on the same breadth of items is only 7 percent.)

The first estimate would put Mr. Gorbachev in some difficulty at the summit meeting; the last estimate would take him to the brink of desperation for a deal.

As Mr. Reagan would ask, What does this mean? It means the West should not be in such a hurry to help this nice man.

Another schism: The old consensus has says the proportion of GNP that the

Russians spend on defense plus under-

ground facilities and the "cost of empire" has taken hold in the Reagan administration; all the hard-liners have been routed. Secretary of State George Shultz has just agreed to link START to "star wars," a huge concession. Although both superpowers have sold the world's media on the seeming impossibility of a START treaty at the summit, the fix is in for a rush to sign in Moscow.

The Russians are exploiting Mr. Reagan's yearning for a blaze of glory. The West is failing to exploit the urgency of the Russians' need to catch their breath.

The New York Times.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Shultz: A Different Case

Secretary of State George Shultz's remarkable opinion column "The Case for America's Middle Peace Plan" (March 19) deserves tribute and respect. It is comforting to read a high-level statement that differs substantially from the almost daily articles written excitedly by journalists who sometimes show little knowledge of the roots of the problem.

Mr. Shultz's message concludes: "The time for decisions is now." I agree, and would add: Give Israel a chance.

Giacomo Franco,
Brussels

Waldheim's Conscience

For the chairman of the Royal Jordanian Airlines to equate what has been going on in the West Bank and Gaza to the conduct of Kurt Waldheim during the Holocaust (*Letters*, March 9) violates even the crudest criteria for objectivity. The Jews who were tortured and perished under Hitler did not throw rocks, Molotov cocktails and grenades at the Nazis. Their only "crime" was that they were born Jewish. Even the horrific Spanish Inquisition gave its victims a choice:

The most charitable assessment of

Mr. Waldheim's conduct is that he was a passive participant in the most heinous crime in history. It is indisputable that he committed egregious acts in trying to cover up his actions. That fact should confirm his guilty feelings.

Herbert Barchoff,
New York

Who's an Anti-Semite?

I found the British Jewish leaders' protest against the award of the 1988 Templeton religious prize to the Pakistani scholar Inamullah Khan (*People*, March 12) in bad taste, at a time when Israeli leaders espouse views of the Palestinian problem that smack of anti-Semitism.

Murray J. Corash,
Athens

More Than Party at Stake

"This isn't siddelywinks," we are informed by Governor John R. McKernan Jr. of Maine ("Braving Race Is Worrying Republicans," March 7). "We're talking about the future of our party."

No, we're not. We're talking about the future of America, of the Western alliance,

of East-West relations, of Latin America and the Third World. We are talking about the globe, about leadership, about vision, about generations yet unborn or never to be born.

David Broder, in "Super Tuesday: The Public Has Rewarded Experience" (*Opinion*, March 10), informs us that George Bush's primary victories reflect a vote for "experience." What experience? Holding his tongue while Ronald Reagan steps on his? Ineffectually registering "reservations" (if that is what he did) about the Iran-contra affair? Pre-

suming over a CIA whose history seems to be only tenuously related to traditional American ideals and ethics?

Steven Bach,
Munich

In response to "As Bush Wins Delegates, His Poll Figures Decline" (March 11):

I hope George F. Will errs when he quotes Vice President George Bush as having said, while "touring" Auschwitz: "Boy, they sure were big on crematoriums, weren't they?" Exhausted candidates on campaign trials say thoughtless things, but such an incredibly astute statement could not be forgotten by a man aspiring to the presidency.

If I can confirm that he did say it, there will be four fewer Republicans in my family — and even fewer after apprise my friends.

Gunther O. Stieneke,
Praia do Carvalho, Portugal

No Stone Unspurned

Regarding the feature "The Trials of Socrates and I.F. Stone" (March 16):

Mr. Stone's "The Trial of Socrates" has been widely publicized and rated a best seller. It is too bad that reviewers for newspapers and newsmagazines are not more knowledgeable about the subject.

Mr. Stone has tried to pull the experts' teeth by billing himself as the maverick outsider who can beat the academics at their own game. In fact he is only the latest in a long line of revisionists about Socrates. Learning Greek does not ensure wisdom in interpretation, and Mr. Stone is unfailingly naive. Even worse, his view of democracy seems little more than a vague, romantic populism. His book deflates much of the legend of I. F. Stone as a political and social thinker.

JAMES C. HADEN,
American School of Classical Studies,
Athens

While we the faithful have been contemplating our navel, an autodidact authority on things Greek has been making a killing in the antiquarian bookshops. In this Stone Age of scholarship, when fame without shame is the fashion, Mr. Stone tells us that "the first translation ever made of Plato ... was made in the Renaissance by a Florentine mystic." Ciceron, Chalcidius and all authors of partial translations of Plato before Ficino, eat your hearts out! Perhaps "Socrates needed the hemlock as Jesus needed the Crucifixion," but Mr. Stone needs a basic course in Western civilization.

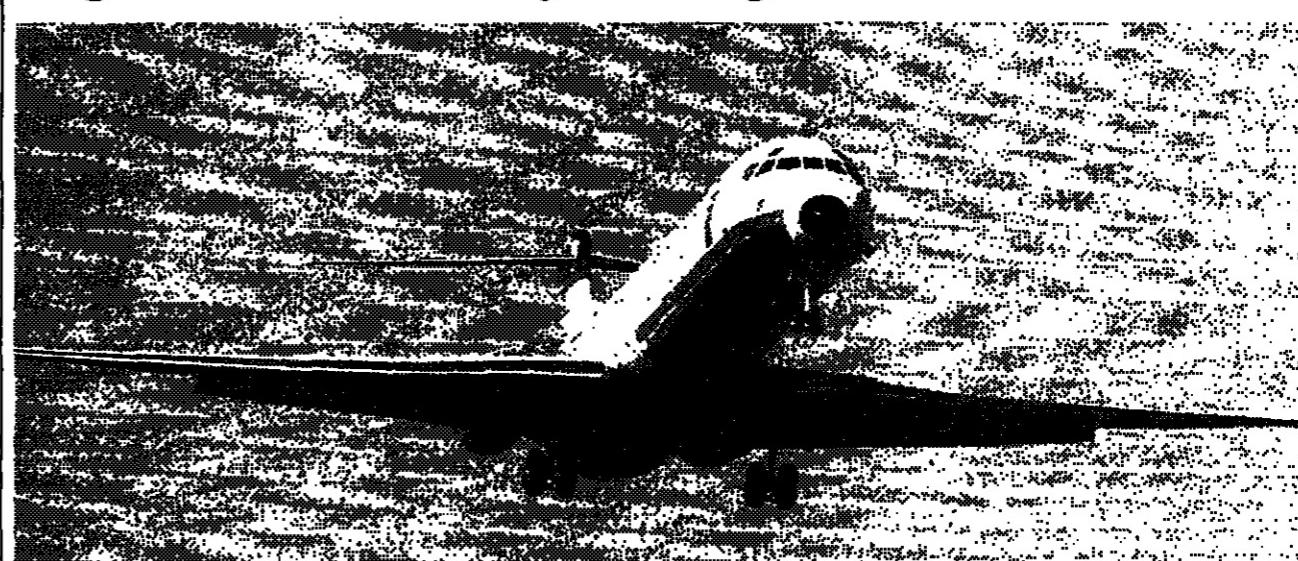
Alban Urbanas,
Lugano, Switzerland

In 1952, while Korea was still being laid waste, it was clear to I. F. Stone, as Jim Naughton writes, that "the United States and South Korea might have precipitated the North Korean attack that began the war." Now the Reagan administration is pulling out of its grubby Central American bag the same trick. What a triumph for Mr. Stone if a world grown wiser were to growl at the gang of tricksters, "No, not this time."

DAVID DORRANCE,
Paris

FRIENDLY FROM A TO Z.

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In a Year of Crisis, Mahathir Tightens His Grip on Malaysia

By Keith B. Richburg
Washington Post Service

KUALA LUMPUR, Malaysia — To the surprise of many analysts, Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad of Malaysia has solidified his grasp on power despite a year of unprecedented political turmoil, including leadership challenges, corruption scandals and mounting racial tension.

The bespectacled, abrasive former physician now controls virtually every aspect of the country's political life, observers say. He is said to use the government-controlled media as his personal propaganda machine. He is said to use legal maneuvers to purge his rivals from the newly reconstituted ruling party. Earlier this month, he used his unchallenged majority in parliament to push through new laws that legal analysts fear will strip the British-style judiciary of its independence.

"The government is stronger than it's ever been before," said a Western diplomat. "But it's also more unpopular than it's ever been before."

Some analysts said Mr. Mahathir's unpopularity is rooted in his authoritarian and combative style, his heavy-handed way of crushing opponents and his often blunt language — such as calling his political party rivals "traitors." It is a style that many find abrasive in a society that has traditionally solved disputes by consensus and has tried to keep in-house squabbles behind closed doors.

"Mahathir has broken all the conventions," said a respected Malaysian journalist.

Others said Mr. Mahathir is not really a bad fellow, that he is, to use the prime minister's own constant refrain, "misunderstood."

"He is probably one of the most misunderstood leaders in the world," said a diplomat from a neighboring Asian country. "And his public relations are terrible." The diplomat and others mentioned the arrests in October of more than 100 people under

Malaysia's broad-gauged Internal Security Act as a case in point.

Malaysian and foreign analysts said Mr. Mahathir was forced to make the arrests after racial tension between Malays and ethnic Chinese had reached a boiling point. Some embassy officials and private lawyers said tension was so high in the days before the arrests that many of their employees refused to come to work, fearing a recurrence of the violent race riots of 1969.

"The population as a whole really approved of the arrests," said a Western diplomat. "It reinforced stability so they could go to work, take their kids to school. They had this nightmare, this trauma, of 1969 — people still remember seeing dead bodies in the river."

The arrests were criticized by human rights groups, editors in the foreign press and by Mr. Mahathir's opponents, who said it was further evidence of his authoritarian tendencies.

Mr. Mahathir, in an interview published in the January issue of Malay Business magazine, brushed aside criticism of the arrests in his typically blunt manner. "I tried to be liberal," he said. "It was not appreciated. People talked about the prime minister being weak. You know, you can't be nice to some people."

Asked by the interviewers about what his critics call his confrontational style, Mr. Mahathir promptly confronted his questioners:

"How can you say that I have a confrontational style," he said, "when I have given places to those who have lost, to those who have gone against me?" He said that political scientists "look for evidence that I'm confrontational. When you approach it in that manner, of course you're going to find I'm confrontational. Along those lines then, everybody's confrontational."

The biggest political crisis for Mr. Mahathir was a challenge last April by a rival, former trade minister

Tunku Razaleigh Hamzah, for the presidency of the ruling United Malays National Organization, and, by extension, the office of prime minister.

Then he received permission to form a new party, UMNO Baru, or New UMNO, and he announced that at least two dozen members of the former party, whom he described as "traitors," would not be invited to apply for membership. A joke that made the rounds in political circles said the new UMNO was an acronym for "Under Mahathir, No Opposition."

"I think it was a brilliant maneuver by Mahathir personally and his legal advisers," a Western diplomat said. "He's now in a position to purge the party completely, from Razaleigh down to the lowest clerk. He can now make a more cohesive party."

South African Commandos Kill 4 During Attack in Botswana Capital

By William Claiborne
Washington Post Service

JOHANNESBURG — South African Army commandos crossed into neighboring Botswana early Monday and shot to death four people in a suburban house in the capital of Gaborone, the military command in Pretoria said.

It was the biggest South African cross-border attack since April 25, when commandos raided Livingstone, Zambia, killing four persons alleged to be African National Congress guerrillas.

Authorities in Botswana said the attackers doused the bodies of a man and three women with gasoline and burned them beyond recognition before setting the house ablaze. Gaborone is about 10 kilometers (six miles) west of the South African border.

A South African military spokesman said the victims were ANC "terrorists" using Botswana as a transit route for infiltrating across the border.

However, the office of President Quett Masire of Botswana said two of the three women were Botswana nationals and that the man was a South African "refugee." Authorities said they were trying to determine the nationality of the third woman.

Mr. Masire condemned "this dastardly attack and murder of innocent people in Botswana by the

South African Army," and said Pretoria's problems could not be solved by attacking neighboring countries.

Botswana, which gained independence from Britain in 1966, supports the ANC's goals and allows its representatives to stay in the country but denies that they carry out attacks in South Africa from inside Botswana.

The ANC, outlawed in South Africa since 1960, is the main guerrilla force battling white minority rule in South Africa. It has acknowledged responsibility for bombings and rocket and gunfire attacks that have killed hundreds of people in South Africa.

The South African Army headquarters said the raid was a "follow-up" to a clash Friday on the Botswana border in which three suspected ANC guerrillas were killed.

A military spokesman, Major Rian Louw, would not comment on the reported burning of the victims in Gaborone.

One source speculated that the motive may have been to send a strong signal to the Botswana government that Pretoria is prepared to take severe measures against neighboring states that harbor ANC guerrillas.

Draft Evasion Increases in S. Africa

By John D. Battersby
New York Times Service

JOHANNESBURG — Ivan Toms, a 35-year-old physician, chose to go to jail for 21 months rather than continue serving as a reserve lieutenant in the South African Defense Force.

"I believe South Africa is in a civil war now, and in that situation, you have got to take sides," Mr. Toms said before a South African court on March 3 convicted him of avoiding military service.

"My experiences during my two years in the army as a lieutenant showed me that even as a doctor I was part of that system of oppression," Mr. Toms said.

Although one of only a small band of conscientious objectors prepared to risk jail for their beliefs, Mr. Toms has become a symbol of a growing resistance to compulsory military service among young white South Africans.

Some young whites are evading the draft by dodging the military authorities, leaving South Africa or refusing to serve in combatant assignments. And an organization called the End Conscription Campaign has worked for four years to counsel draft-resisters to the irritation of the government.

The issue of draft resisters is sensitive that the defense minister, General Magnus Malan, has since 1985 refused to provide statistics in Parliament on the number of white conscripts who fail to report for service.

Only young men from among the



BIG HAND FOR THE PRIME MINISTER — Japan's prime minister, Noboru Takeshita, shaking hands Monday with Ohomuki, a sumo champion, during a party to honor sports figures at Mr. Takeshita's official residence in Tokyo.

News Media Operating Under Restrictions

New York Times Service

BANGKOK — Malaysia's live-list English-language daily paper and a weekly Malay paper, *The Star*, has resumed publication after a five-month ban.

But its leading columnist, Malaysia's first prime minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, cautioned that because of restrictions on publishing, "readers will not get the message from me in my column as frankly as I would have liked." All newspapers are licensed by the Malaysian government, which has almost total control over the news media.

The Star and its associated paper, *The Sunday Star*, were censored

by government order in October, along with a Chinese-language daily paper and a weekly Malay paper.

At the time, the government of Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad also arrested 106 political opponents and members of public-interest groups. The detainees were accused of provoking racial tensions.

Thirty-eight people remain in detention without charge or trial, including the leader of the opposition Democratic Action Party, Lim Kit Siang, and his deputy, Karpal Singh. The party rejects the government accusations but has almost no

legal recourse under the Internal Security Act.

Spokesmen for the Chinese paper, Sin Chew Jit Poh, and the Malay periodical, *Watan*, said they hoped to resume publication soon.

The Star and *The Sunday Star* are owned by the Malaysian Chinese Association, a component of the prime minister's governing coalition, the National Front.

Ethnic Chinese make up 37 percent of the Malaysian population.

Malays make up about 48 percent

and ethnic South Asians and the indigenous people of Borneo account for the rest.

Mr. Masire condemned "this dastardly attack and murder of innocent people in Botswana by the

country's five million whites are called up for compulsory service. They account for about 65,000 of the armed forces' 107,000 regulars and for all of its 317,000 reservists.

Such conscripts must serve two years of continuous active duty, followed by a total of two more years in military camps over the next 12 years.

Black and mixed-race South Africans are not subject to compulsory service, though some join as volunteers for the employment.

Only a narrowly defined category of religious objectors are allowed the option of serving in nonmilitary roles or doing community service.

Political or moral objectors who refuse to serve face at least six years in prison if they are new conscripts, or one and a half times their unfinished service if they have completed part of their training.

The extent of draft-dodging is difficult to determine, but it is believed to include at least several thousand young men since the beginning of the 1980s and has increased during periods of civil unrest.

The total of those resisting would be much higher if it included thousands of South Africans who have emigrated rather than had their sons face the draft.

"I am not prepared to make a martyr of my 15-year-old son," said Peter Nixon, a 44-year-old school principal who has decided to emigrate to Australia.

The majority of conscripts serve in the army, which usually means

either taking part in the war in Angola, in which South Africa has sided with anti-government rebels, or suppressing unrest in the black townships at home.

Recent studies conducted by psychologists have found that service in the townships has had a most traumatic effect on white conscripts.

Thomas Louw, 18, said that night on patrol in Tembisa, a black township near Johannesburg, looked out the back of his armored car and wondered why he was there.

"I just freaked out after that cause from my point of view, we were doing more harm than good," Mr. Louw said.

Another draftee from Cape Town, who said he did not want to be identified because he planned to evict further call-ups, had a similar reaction to township patrol.

"When it comes to little kids, it's hard to tell yourself that an 8-year-old with a stone in his hand is a ruthless killer and an enemy of all," he said. "I can't accept it. They are just children. What do they know about the situation they involved in?"

The End Conscription Campaign was formed in 1983 to work for an end to the draft and to provide support to conscientious objectors.

It has offices in 10 metropolitan centers and has been endorsed by more than 50 other organizations generally involved in opposition to apartheid.

Living Abroad

Finding That Best Seller You Covet

By Sherry Buchanan
International Herald Tribune

You can't live without that sexy new best seller? Worried you won't really enjoy that trip to Czechoslovakia without the newest guidebook? Concerned that you can't cast an absentee ballot intelligently unless you've read the latest expose of capital politics? Have no fear. Though expatriates can't always find what they want at the bookshop just around the corner in Saint Wenceslas-on-the-Sea, a growing number of specialists, including mail-order services, can help track down the book you absolutely must have.

"Most major cities in Western Europe and Asia have excellent bookstores which can always help somebody out," said David Kotick, who directs international sales for the Bantam, Doubleday, Dell Publishing Group in New York. "But there is always a bit of a marked-up price, and of course there is the question of availability of the book."

Some resourceful readers use 24-hour telephone hot lines set up by international booksellers.

Are there complaints from their subscribers?

"There are still customers who want more specialist books or who want to get the books faster — but usually at the cheaper postage rates," Mr. Braithwaite said.

Because these services specialize in an international clientele, orders from faraway lands only rarely go astray.

"When we lived in Tanzania, we were getting 10-year-old cast-offs,"

only when you get them that you realize you are stuck."

Subscribers can select surface mail or air mail delivery. For some countries, the Good Book Guide offers what it calls an "air-speeded" service, which is faster than surface mail but cheaper than air mail. From Britain, for example, sending a book to Kenya by surface mail costs about 10 percent of the book price; by air mail and 35 percent of the price by air-speeded mail.

Readers sometimes can save money, however, by purchasing books directly from the publisher and paying the postage.

"Recently, especially because the weak dollar, it is still occasionally cheaper to buy the books directly in the United States and in the airmail postage," said Fred DeWitt, manager of Book Call, Elm Street, New Canaan, Connecticut. Book Call, which sells U.S. titles by mail in 40 countries, set up six and a half years ago.

A satisfied customer is Ed Sticken, of Schwabisch-Hall, Germany. "By ordering books from the Good Book Guide and having them sent by surface mail," she said, "I pay half the price of the same book in Germany, where prices are exorbitant for English-language books. And I would never have the same breadth of choice in Germany."

Greek Gas Stations Closed

ATHENS — Seven thousand Greek gasoline station owners went on strike for five days starting Saturday night, a spokesman for the union said Monday. They are demanding to retain as profit 8 percent of the value of the gas they sell, up from 4.8 percent recently.

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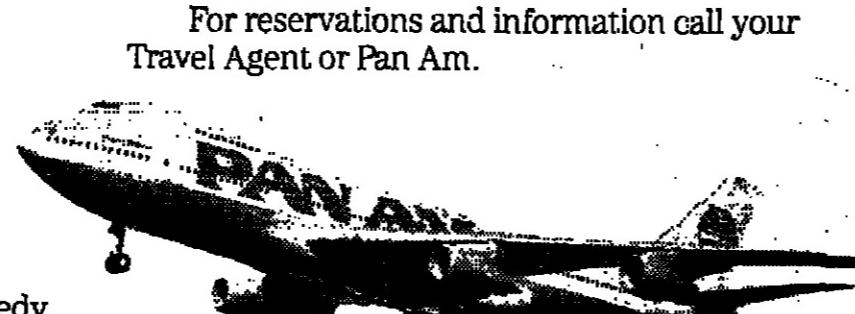
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JET-AIRLINES

ARTS / LEISURE

Heirloom Furniture: Classics Made in Java

By Barbara Crossette

New York Times Service

KLATEN, Indonesia — In Central Java, almost halfway around the world from the stately homes of England, Eastern and Western traditions are combining to re-create furniture classics of 18th-century Europe and early America.

Here in the workshops of the Pupeta cooperative, barefoot men clad in shorts, inheritors of an extraordinary Javanese woodcarving tradition, reproduce in solid mahogany the designs of Chippendale, Sheraton, Hepplewhite, Adam and other British and American furniture makers.

"Nobody has made furniture like this for a couple of hundred years," said Jim Tenbrink, a native of Cincinnati, Ohio.

Tenbrink, who works for the National Cooperative Business Association of the United States, was instrumental in starting the workshop in 1986 in a corner of a live-stock feed mill, another project the association helped to establish.

Most of the furniture — canopy beds with cornice posts, break-front cupboards, pedestal tables and signature chairs — goes to the United States. Some pieces will be labeled "Made in England"; others, "Made in U.S.A." But that description will cover only the final finishing. A number of the pieces, including a reproduction of an 18th-century Philadelphia break-front with secretary inset that is expected to sell at retail for about \$20,000, will be shown at the furniture trade show in High Point, North Carolina, in April.

"Almost all these pieces will end up in design centers or as collectors' items," Tenbrink said. "But it will last, and be passed on to their

Craftsmen construct the furniture with handmade joints, not glue or dowels. Under the guidance of one Dutch and two British cabinetmakers, the Indonesians work with English jigs, or patterns. No plywood or inferior timber is used, even on the bottoms or backs of drawers. Table pedestals and draw-

ers and their children's children."

When Indonesia was a colony of the Netherlands, from the 17th century until the end of World War II, Dutch administrators in Central Java planted *Swietenia mahagoni* trees along the roadsides and in forests. The mahogany, found at the time in Cuba and Honduras, was also transported to Europe for use by furniture makers of the 18th and 19th centuries.

The trees, now rare in most parts of the world, are still relatively abundant here, enabling the Indonesians to marry the original wood and original designs.

The National Cooperative Business Association, a Washington trade association, was hired by the United States Agency for International Development to help create job opportunities for the farmers of Central Java. Because the people of the area were experienced in carving, a furniture workshop was set up.

The association, formerly called the Cooperative League of the United States, is a 72-year-old organization that helped start CARE, the relief agency.

The Indonesian government, looking for employment-generating, export-income industries, acquired a failing furniture company in Jakarta and asked the association to operate the company. It was restructured and moved to Central Java, where the trees and the woodcarvers were waiting. Now as a private business in an Indonesian cooperative setting, the furniture workshop employs 250 craftsmen, who copy about 150 classic designs.

Tenbrink, who oversees the project, is paid by the association with funds from the aid agency. Adams on until April 3 at the Kennedy Center Opera House.

A Javanese woodcarver in his workshop in Klaten, Indonesia; (left) a hand-carved four-poster bed frame nears completion.

er corners are dovetailed. Brass accessories come from craftsmen in another Javanese town.

"Not many people in America ever see solid-timber furniture like this," Tenbrink said. "People buying these pieces are going to spend \$1,000 for a dining-room chair. But it will last, and be passed on to their

children and their children's children."

WASHINGTTON — Those who like "Doonesbury" and/or the music of Philip Glass should love "Nixon in China."

And those who collect Henry Kissinger will find a treasure trove in the new opera by John



A Javanese woodcarver in his workshop in Klaten, Indonesia; (left) a hand-carved four-poster bed frame nears completion.

Mehta's Year at Knopf

By Edwin McDowell

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Sonny Mehta visited the United States often while he was running Pan Books in London. But during his first few months running Alfred A. Knopf he had to contend with culture shock, separation from his family and the language barrier — not the British-American language barrier that so amused Mark Twain, but the one that distinguishes hardcover book publishers (Knopf) from paperback publishers (Pan).

A year later, though, Mehta, a 45-year-old citizen of India, feels at home both in the United States and as a hardcover publisher. Knopf is a special kind of home — a veritable glass house — because it is one of the most distinguished of all book publishers.

Thus Mehta, Knopf's informal-bearded president and editor in chief, has been scrutinized unusually closely as the successor to Robert A. Gottlieb who, until he became editor of *The New Yorker*, was widely credited with having maintained high standards at Knopf for 19 years. (Knopf and *The New Yorker* are owned by the Newsweek family, and Gottlieb will continue to edit some of his authors for Knopf.)

Mehta watchers say his first-year scorecard is impressive. While maintaining Knopf's tradition of quality, they say, he is publishing more aggressively than his predecessor, he has introduced a more collegial atmosphere to the house and he has hired several editors who should make Knopf even more formidable.

They include Elisabeth Sifton,

who had her own imprint at Viking and had been courted by Random House, Knopf's big brother in Random House Inc. Another is Harry Ford, the longtime poetry editor at Atheneum Publishers. Thus, Mehta

acquired not only their own considerable talents but also a number of new authors and poets.

Mehta also hired Jane Amsterdam, founding editor of Manhattan, Inc., and Marty Asher, who had headed the Quality Paperback Book Club, to be editor in chief of Vintage Books, Random House's 34-year-old trade paperback imprint.

Unlike Gottlieb, who was essentially a one-man band, Mehta has sought to involve Knopf editors and officials. "He has brought a real shared spirit," said Jane Friedman, senior vice president, who has been at Knopf for 20 years.

There are some complaints that Mehta, the Cambridge-educated son of a diplomat, does not return telephone calls, takes a long time to make decisions and has a remoteness that makes him appear to tune out even during face-to-face meetings. But Friedman said Mehta was slow only in comparison with Gottlieb and partly because of his efforts to forge a consensus.

Primarily a publisher rather than an editor, Mehta has nonetheless personally signed up 32 books, including biographies, novels and books about Broadway, Hawaii and India. While he may have had little time for editing, he said, he is now editing V.S. Naipaul's book about his travels in the U.S. South.

Knopf has had its share of best sellers, including three on the current hardcover lists. But people in the industry say Mehta is ordering larger first printings than Gottlieb did: several Knopf books — including those by David Brinkley, Anne Tyler and Gabriel García Márquez — have scheduled first printings of 100,000 to 200,000.

Outsiders attribute this aggressiveness to a combination of Mehta's paperback experience — Pan is the largest paperback publisher in Britain — and his awareness that in recent years many hard covers have sold in numbers usually associated with paperbacks.

Behind a cloud of cigarette smoke in his 21st-floor office, Mehta, whose full name is Ajai Singh Mehta, considered that possibility.

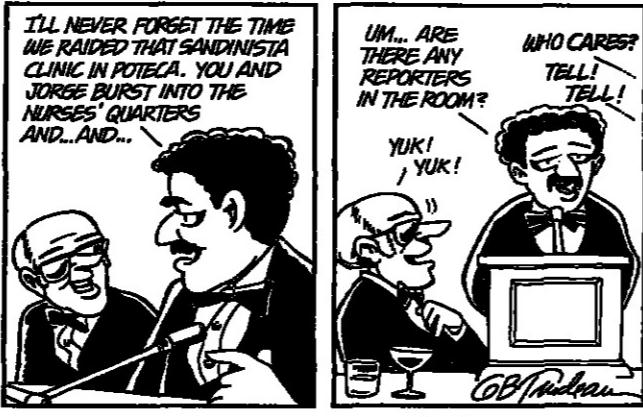
"Yes, there is something attractive about taking risks," he said. "I think I'm more marketing- and sales-oriented than others, and the notion of selling books continues to interest me. Just because we're Knopf doesn't mean we shouldn't sell books as well as any other publisher in the land."

But Mehta plans no radical changes for this most traditional of houses. "I still want us to publish the best books in every area," he said. "I want us to remain the classiest publisher in town."

DOONESBURY



WHAT CAN I SAY ABOUT COMING AND GOING LESS THAN ZERO? IF YOU MET HIM AT A PARTY, YOU'D SAY HE WAS A REAL GENTLEMAN... HA, HA! RIGHT!



BUT OUT IN THE FIELD, THIS MAN WAS OUTRAGEOUS! I MEAN, HE TURNED INTO A TOTAL WILD MAN!

HA, HA! IT'S TRUE. IT'S TRUE.

I'LL NEVER FORGET THE TIME WE RAIDED THAT SANDINISTA CLINIC IN POTOSI. YOU AND JORGE BURST INTO THE NURSES' QUARTERS AND... AND...

UM... ARE THERE ANY REPORTERS IN THE ROOM?

WHO CARES? TELL! TELL!

YUK! YUK!

ADVERTISING

'Nixon in China' — Opera of the Future

By Joseph McLellan

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Those who like "Doonesbury" and/or the music of Philip Glass should love "Nixon in China."

And those who collect Henry Kissinger will find a treasure trove in the new opera by John

Adams on until April 3 at the Kennedy Center Opera House.

Compared with the usual run of operas, "Nixon in China" may seem curiously uneventful, though its theme is entwined with the fate of great nations. The opening night performance was not helped by problems of verbal comprehension. Kennedy Center should seriously consider subtitles, even when the opera is in English. The libretto is worth knowing.

Nevertheless, "Nixon in China" is a fresh, inventive and deeply satisfying operatic experience for those who judge operas by their resemblance to "La Traviata" or even "Boris Godunov": "Nixon in China" probably represents the opera of the future, but it may shock or upset people devoted to the opera of the past.

"Nixon in China" is a harbinger of new answers to old operatic challenges. Adams has succeeded in formulating a strong operatic style, devising recitative and aria styles rooted in the distinctive idioms of the 1980s. He may encounter some resistance, but in 10 years his opera will be recognized as a classic. Meanwhile, some adjustments must be made — a few in the production, which is hardly problem-free, and more in the attitudes of those who want opera to stay fixed at the Puccini level.

Musically, the opera embodies the composer's colorful and often expressive neoromanticism, an idiom capable of generating the kind of expansive lyric and dramatic statements associated with Wagner and Puccini.

The singing was generally com-

tent and sometimes excellent, and John DeMain of the Houston Opera conducted effectively. Most of the characters did not inspire deep sympathy, though Pat Nixon (well portrayed by Carolann Page) slowly won the hearts of the audience and Zhou Enlai (superbly sung by Sanford Sylvan) brought down the final curtain with a moving aria.

James Maddalena, as Nixon, has mastered his subject's body language. So has Thomas Hammons, who plays Kissinger largely for laughs, in the witty, detailed stage direction of Peter Sellars. John DuViers gives a masterful portrayal of Mao Zedong, and Trudy Ellen Craney as Madame Mao makes maximum use of her brief, chilling appearance in Act 2 and of more reflective material in Act 3.

The ballet is a little gem of soft-core sado-masochism brilliantly choreographed by Mark Morris, combining Western styles and a propagandistic message with elements of traditional Chinese dance. It is one of the opera's highlights and its psychological turning point.

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NYSE Most Actives									
Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.	Per.	Adv.	Decl.	Unch.	Total
BENTLY SCHL	24726	3216	3176	3126	-14	+1	-1	-1	1
IBM	24718	3116	3096	3076	-10	+1	-1	-1	1
AT&T	24698	2166	2146	2126	-10	+1	-1	-1	1
Lucky	24689	21	20	19	-1	+1	-1	-1	1
CHEV	24672	2166	2146	2126	-10	+1	-1	-1	1
GTE	24652	1976	1956	1936	-10	+1	-1	-1	1
NIST	24642	1976	1956	1936	-10	+1	-1	-1	1
EKCO	24631	1976	1956	1936	-10	+1	-1	-1	1
AMCI	24621	1976	1956	1936	-10	+1	-1	-1	1
INCO	24611	1976	1956	1936	-10	+1	-1	-1	1
Aeroflex	24601	1976	1956	1936	-10	+1	-1	-1	1
Alcatel	24591	1976	1956	1936	-10	+1	-1	-1	1
General	24581	1976	1956	1936	-10	+1	-1	-1	1
Dow Jones Bond Averages	24571	1976	1956	1936	-10	+1	-1	-1	1
Previous Close	24561	1976	1956	1936	-10	+1	-1	-1	1
Bonds	24551	1976	1956	1936	-10	+1	-1	-1	1
Utilities	24541	1976	1956	1936	-10	+1	-1	-1	1
Industrials	24531	1976	1956	1936	-10	+1	-1	-1	1

Market Sales									
Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.	Per.	Adv.	Decl.	Unch.	Total
NYSE 4-Run Volume	142,823,000	142,823,000	142,823,000	142,823,000	0	0	0	0	0
NYSE 4-Run Average	12,070,000	12,070,000	12,070,000	12,070,000	0	0	0	0	0
Amex 4-Run Volume	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4-Run Average	1,177,400	1,177,400	1,177,400	1,177,400	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX Prev. close	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX Prev. close, close	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, close	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, volume	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, average	1,177,400	1,177,400	1,177,400	1,177,400	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, prev. close	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, prev. close, close	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, adv.	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, decl.	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, unch.	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, total issues	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, new highs	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, new lows	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, adv. %	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, decl. %	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, unch. %	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, adv. \$	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, decl. \$	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, unch. \$	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, adv. Chg.	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, decl. Chg.	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, unch. Chg.	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, adv. Vol.	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, decl. Vol.	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, unch. Vol.	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, adv. Pct.	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, decl. Pct.	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, unch. Pct.	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, adv. Chg. %	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, decl. Chg. %	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, unch. Chg. %	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, adv. Chg. \$	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, decl. Chg. \$	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, unch. Chg. \$	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, adv. Chg. Chg.	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, decl. Chg. Chg.	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, unch. Chg. Chg.	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, adv. Chg. Pct.	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, decl. Chg. Pct.	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, unch. Chg. Pct.	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, adv. Chg. Chg. %	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, decl. Chg. Chg. %	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, unch. Chg. Chg. %	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, adv. Chg. Chg. \$	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, decl. Chg. Chg. \$	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	11,774,000	0	0	0	0	0
AMEX 4 Run, unch. Chg. Chg.									

Monday's NYSE Closing

Tables include the narrow-wide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere.

12 Month
High Low Stock Div. Yld. PE Shs. High Low Close Out Chg.

(Continued)

	20%	21%	22%	23%	24%	25%	26%	27%	28%	29%	30%	31%	32%	33%	34%	35%	36%	37%	38%	39%	40%	41%	42%	43%	44%	45%	46%	47%	48%	49%	50%	51%	52%	53%	54%	55%	56%	57%	58%	59%	60%	61%	62%	63%	64%	65%	66%	67%	68%	69%	70%	71%	72%	73%	74%	75%	76%	77%	78%	79%	80%	81%	82%	83%	84%	85%	86%	87%	88%	89%	90%	91%	92%	93%	94%	95%	96%	97%	98%	99%	100%	101%	102%	103%	104%	105%	106%	107%	108%	109%	110%	111%	112%	113%	114%	115%	116%	117%	118%	119%	120%	121%	122%	123%	124%	125%	126%	127%	128%	129%	130%	131%	132%	133%	134%	135%	136%	137%	138%	139%	140%	141%	142%	143%	144%	145%	146%	147%	148%	149%	150%	151%	152%	153%	154%	155%	156%	157%	158%	159%	160%	161%	162%	163%	164%	165%	166%	167%	168%	169%	170%	171%	172%	173%	174%	175%	176%	177%	178%	179%	180%	181%	182%	183%	184%	185%	186%	187%	188%	189%	190%	191%	192%	193%	194%	195%	196%	197%	198%	199%	200%	201%	202%	203%	204%	205%	206%	207%	208%	209%	210%	211%	212%	213%	214%	215%	216%	217%	218%	219%	220%	221%	222%	223%	224%	225%	226%	227%	228%	229%	230%	231%	232%	233%	234%	235%	236%	237%	238%	239%	240%	241%	242%	243%	244%	245%	246%	247%	248%	249%	250%	251%	252%	253%	254%	255%	256%	257%	258%	259%	260%	261%	262%	263%	264%	265%	266%	267%	268%	269%	270%	271%	272%	273%	274%	275%	276%	277%	278%	279%	280%	281%	282%	283%	284%	285%	286%	287%	288%	289%	290%	291%	292%	293%	294%	295%	296%	297%	298%	299%	300%	301%	302%	303%	304%	305%	306%	307%	308%	309%	310%	311%	312%	313%	314%	315%	316%	317%	318%	319%	320%	321%	322%	323%	324%	325%	326%	327%	328%	329%	330%	331%	332%	333%	334%	335%	336%	337%	338%	339%	340%	341%	342%	343%	344%	345%	346%	347%	348%	349%	350%	351%	352%	353%	354%	355%	356%	357%	358%	359%	360%	361%	362%	363%	364%	365%	366%	367%	368%	369%	370%	371%	372%	373%	374%	375%	376%	377%	378%	379%	380%	381%	382%	383%	384%	385%	386%	387%	388%	389%	390%	391%	392%	393%	394%	395%	396%	397%	398%	399%	400%	401%	402%	403%	404%	405%	406%	407%	408%	409%	410%	411%	412%	413%	414%	415%	416%	417%	418%	419%	420%	421%	422%	423%	424%	425%	426%	427%	428%	429%	430%	431%	432%	433%	434%	435%	436%	437%	438%	439%	440%	441%	442%	443%	444%	445%	446%	447%	448%	449%	450%	451%	452%	453%	454%	455%	456%	457%	458%	459%	460%	461%	462%	463%	464%	465%	466%	467%	468%	469%	470%	471%	472%	473%	474%	475%	476%	477%	478%	479%	480%	481%	482%	483%	484%	485%	486%	487%	488%	489%	490%	491%	492%	493%	494%	495%	496%	497%	498%	499%	500%	501%	502%	503%	504%	505%	506%	507%	508%	509%	510%	511%	512%	513%	514%	515%	516%	517%	518%	519%	520%	521%	522%	523%	524%	525%	526%	527%	528%	529%	530%	531%	532%	533%	534%	535%	536%	537%	538%	539%	540%	541%	542%	543%	544%	545%	546%	547%	548%	549%	550%	551%	552%	553%	554%	555%	556%	557%	558%	559%	560%	561%	562%	563%	564%	565%	566%	567%	568%	569%	570%	571%	572%	573%	574%	575%	576%	577%	578%	579%	580%	581%	582%	583%	584%	585%	586%	587%	588%	589%	590%	591%	592%	593%	594%	595%	596%	597%	598%	599%	600%	601%	602%	603%	604%	605%	606%	607%	608%	609%	610%	611%	612%	613%	614%	615%	616%	617%	618%	619%	620%	621%	622%	623%	624%	625%	626%	627%	628%	629%	630%	631%	632%	633%	634%	635%	636%	637%	638%	639%	640%	641%	642%	643%	644%	645%	646%	647%	648%	649%	650%	651%	652%	653%	654%	655%	656%	657%	658%	659%	660%	661%	662%	663%	664%	665%	666%	667%	668%	669%	670%	671%	672%	673%	674%	675%	676%	677%	678%	679%	680%	681%	682%	683%	684%	685%	686%	687%	688%	689%	690%	691%	692%	693%	694%	695%	696%	697%	698%	699%	700%	701%	702%	703%	704%	705%	706%	707%	708%	709%	710%	711%	712%	713%	714%	715%	716%	717%	718%	719%	720%	721%	722%	723%	724%	725%	726%	727%	728%	729%	730%	731%	732%	733%	734%	735%	736%	737%	738%	739%	740%	741%	742%	743%	744%	745%	746%	747%	748%	749%	750%	751%	752%	753%	754%	755%	756%	757%	758%	759%	760%	761%	762%	763%	764%	765%	766%	767%	768%	769%	770%	771%	772%	773%	774%	775%	776%	777%	778%	779%	780%	781%	782%	783%	784%	785%	786%	787%	788%	789%	790%	791%	792%	793%	794%	795%	796%	797%	798%	799%	800%	801%	802%	803%	804%	805%	806%	807%	808%	809%	810%	811%	812%	813%	814%	815%	816%	817%	818%	819%	820%	821%	822%	823%	824%	825%	826%	827%	828%	829%	830%	831%	832%	833%	834%	835%	836%	837%	838%	839%	840%	841%	842%	843%	844%	845%	846%	847%	848%	849%	850%	851%	852%	853%	854%	855%	856%	857%	858%	859%	860%	861%	862%	863%	864%	865%	866%	867%	868%	869%	870%	871%	872%	873%	874%	875%	876%	877%	878%	879%	880%	881%	882%	883%	884%	885%	886%	887%	888%	889%	890%	891%	892%	893%	894%	895%	896%	897%	898%	899%	900%	901%	902%	903%	904%	905%	906%	907%	908%	909%	910%	911%	912%	913%	914%	915%	916%	917%	918%	919%	920%	921%	922%	923%	924%	925%	926%	927%	928%	929%	930%	931%	932%	933%	934%	935%	936%	937%	938%	939%	940%	941%	942%	943%	944%	945%	946%	947%	948%	949%	950%	951%	952%	953%	954%	955%	956%	957%	958%	959%	960%	961%	962%	963%	964%</th

BUSINESS ROUNDUP

Higher Gulf Canada Bid Is Accepted by Asameria

United Press International

TORONTO — Gulf Canada Resources Ltd. announced Monday an agreement to acquire Asameria Inc. after raising its bid to \$12.6 million Canadian dollars (\$412.6 million).

Asameria, an energy producer and developer based in Calgary, Alberta, said it would recommend that stockholders accept the offer, which had been increased from \$45 million.

The Asameria board had recommended against an earlier hostile offer by Gulf Canada, the country's fifth-largest oil and gas producer. The Reichmann family owns 78 percent of Gulf Canada through the closely held Olympia & York Enterprises Ltd.

Gulf Canada, created last year when the Reichmanns restructured Gulf Canada Corp., boosted its bid from 10,500 Canadian dollars a share to 11,875 dollars a share for about 38.6 million common shares.

Earlier bids of 25 dollars a share for 2 million preferred shares and 35 cents apiece for about 2.8 million warrants remained unchanged.

Denis Mote, an analyst with Maison Placements Canada Inc., called the revised bid "a fair price."

On Feb. 29, Asameria common stock soared by 3.75 dollars a share to 11.75 dollars on the Toronto Stock Exchange. Shares since have traded as high as 12.38 dollars.

Asameria stock, the most active issue on the American Stock Exchange at midday Monday, was off 25 cents to \$9.375 a share. Gulf Resources was down 12.5 cents to \$13.25 a share on the Amex.

Asameria, which reports in U.S. funds, has assets of \$250 million and reported net income of \$29.3 million last year.

The company produced 8.8 million barrels of crude oil and 3.1 billion cubic feet of natural gas in 1987; it had gold reserves of 620,000 ounces. Its most attractive asset is a 54 percent interest in 2.2 million acres (890,000 hectares) in Indonesia, Mr. Mote said.

Asameria lacks long-term resources to attract other buyers, but a

strong surplus cash flow from the Indonesian holdings appealed to Gulf Canada, Mr. Mote said.

"I suspect that Gulf will be able to use the surplus cash flow to fund all their foreign holdings," he said.

Most of Gulf Canada's production is Canadian, but it has holdings in Colombia and Italy.

Gulf, with assets of \$2.6 billion, earned \$76 million in the six months ending Dec. 31.

Frank Terman, a Gulf spokesman, said the company is "essentially debt-free."

BP Australia Shows Profit

British Petroleum Co. of Australia said Monday that it had had a sharp turnaround to a net profit of 100.5 million Australian dollars (\$74.2 million) in 1987 from a 16.1 million dollar loss in 1986, Reuters reported Monday from Melbourne.

The company, a subsidiary of British Petroleum Co., said the oil sector was the biggest factor in the turnaround. Company sales rose to 2.57 billion dollars last year from 2.27 billion.

Net profit was before an extraordinary net loss of 75.8 million dollars, arising from write-downs of BP's coal business, it said.

Pearson Reports 25% Rise In Pretax Profit for Year

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

LONDON — Pearson PLC, the publisher of the Financial Times newspaper, said Monday that its pretax profit jumped 25.4 percent in 1987, partly because of a strong gain in its core publishing and entertainment division.

The conglomerate, which also has interests in chinaware, oil and banking, said pretax profit for the year was £151.8 million (\$279 million), up from £121.1 million in 1986.

Pearson said that adjusting for those factors, sales would have increased 6 percent.

Trading profit rose to £148.8 million from £132.1 million in 1986. The company said trading profit would have been £4.2 million higher except for closure costs of its Paragon publishing operation.

For Pearson's newspaper and book publishing and entertainment division, trading profit rose 27 percent to £89.4 million.

The company did not give quarterly or half-year results.

The market was pleased with the higher-than-expected pretax profit. The average forecast had been about £135 million.

Pearson's stock rose 15 pence on the day to close at 675 pence per share on the London Stock Exchange.

(Reuters, AP)

Workers Return at Britain's Land Rover

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

LONDON — Six thousand auto workers at Land Rover, the subsidiary of Britain's Rover Group PLC, returned to work Monday after a five-week strike that cost the British company an estimated £75 million (\$136 million), a company spokesman said.

The unions said Saturday that a postal ballot showed 79 percent of the workers favored accepting the management's revised pay offer, that nonetheless left the original pay proposal largely unchanged.

The strike began after employees rejected a two-year pay package that the company said was a 14 percent increase. Union leaders, who were seeking a 20 percent rise, said the offer was worth only 8 percent above current pay levels because it absorbed some existing bonuses.

The two sides worked out a compromise agreement last week with the help of government mediators. The government plans to sell the parent car company to the private sector, with British Aerospace PLC a main contender.

Industry sources said the outcome was a victory for management because it had refused to increase its basic offer. Both sides acknowledged that the revision of terms was only cosmetic.

In other auto industry news, Norman Willis, leader of the Trades Union Congress, said he was planning another attempt this week to reverse Ford Motor Co.'s decision not to open a plant in the Scottish town of Dundee, where the unemployment rate is 15 percent.

Ford scrapped its plans to open the 1,000-job plant after unions failed to back an agreement for single-union representation. The company said it would not reverse its decision, but it has not yet announced another site for the plant.

Mr. Willis, who failed to persuade the company to change its mind when he went to Detroit last week, has called for an urgent meeting of all Ford manual and white-collar unions, in an attempt to reach an agreement that would satisfy the company. The meeting is expected to take place in London in midweek.

(Reuters, AP)

Singapore Banks Expect a Profit Slowdown

Reuters

SINGAPORE — Singapore's four major local banks, which had record net profits last year, may not do as well this year because of an expected slowing of economic growth and a weak stock market, bankers said.

The Development Bank of Singapore Ltd., Overseas-Chinese Banking Corp., Overseas Union Bank Ltd. and United Overseas Bank Ltd. posted a record total net profit of 459.33 million Singapore dollars (\$22.6 million at the current exchange rate) in 1987, exceeding the record of 450.3 million dollars set in 1983.

But most of the bankers interviewed said the four banks were unlikely to match last year's profit because of an expected slowing of export growth in Singapore.

A U.S. recession in the second half of this year, as some analysts predict, would cloud export prospects, and GDP growth for the year is expected to slow to 5 to 6 percent, they said.

Bankers also said they expected

the weak stock market to hurt bank profits. Most foreign fund managers and Singaporeans remain reluctant to invest in stocks, they said.

Shares prices were traded lower across the board Monday on the Singapore stock market, with the Straits Times industrial index dropping 20.38 points to close at 925.22. Agence France-Presse reported.

Development Bank earned the highest net profit among the four big banks in 1987, at 154.84 million dollars, surpassing a record of 153.8 million dollars posted by Overseas Union Bank in 1983, the statement showed.

Bankers said Overseas Union Bank and United Overseas Bank reported lower profit in the second half of last year because of the stock market plunge in October, which wiped 60 billion dollars from market capitalization. The four banks' profit totaled 370.99 million dollars in 1986.

Robert Tomlin, managing director of International Merchant Bankers Ltd., said the four banks

prospered early last year as the economy rebounded from a recession. He said they set aside a smaller amount toward bad debts last year than they did in 1986.

Singapore's gross domestic product increased by 8.6 percent last year after a 1.8 percent rise in 1986 and a 1.9 percent contraction in 1985. GDP measures the output of goods and services excluding income from operations abroad.

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CURRENCY MARKETS

DOLLAR: Currency's Fall Drags Down Stock Prices

(continued from first finance page)

d they expect the dollar to re-in under pressure.

In Tokyo, where trading ends at 124.50 yen, down from 124.50 on Friday.

Dealers said the Bank of Japan, revalued in Asia on Monday, was trying dollars to prop up the U.S. currency's value.

"Dealers seem to think the only thing holding the dollar up is the yen," said Hiroshi Yoshida, a deal-

er with Irving Trust Co. in Tokyo. In London, the dollar closed no more than a pence and a half per cent, at 1.6600 DM, against 1.6700 at Friday's close.

The dollar closed at 124.17 yen,

up more than a yen from 123.28 Friday; at 1.3700 Swiss francs, up from 1.3880; and at 5.6285 each franc, down more than 6 cents from 5.6905.

London Dollar Rates	Mon.	Fri.
Deutsche mark	1.6600	1.6700
French franc	1.0795	1.0800
Japanese yen	124.17	125.28
Swiss franc	1.3700	1.3880
French franc	5.6285	5.6905
Source: Reuters		

The dollar was also weaker against the British pound, which closed at \$1.8595, more than 2 cents up from \$1.8360 on Friday.

In London, one dealer said that the dollar's gradual drift downward was a possible reason that no central bank support had been observed in Europe.

There are no really major factors moving the market, just a general lack of confidence in the dollar," he said.

If the dollar's slide continues and it breaches 1.6550 DM, new lows

around 1.6250 could be set within the next few days, one dealer said.

The dollar's weakness stole the limelight from the pound, which firmed against the mark after closing on Friday after the government reported a larger-than-forecast current account deficit of \$720 million (\$1.34 billion) in February.

The trade figures were yet another reason to keep the big players out of the market, one dealer said. "It's been another really slow day."

The pound closed Monday in London at 1.6855 DM, up from 1.6763 at Friday's close.

Earlier in Europe, the dollar was fixed in Frankfurt at 1.6654 DM, down from 1.6810 on Friday, and in Paris at 5.6490 French francs, down from 5.7025 each franc, down more than 6 cents from 5.6905.

The dollar closed in Zurich at 1.3755 Swiss francs, down from 1.3850 on Friday.

Canadians Debate Their Dollar's Rise

By John F. Burns

New York Times Service

TORONTO — After 12 years of aiding their currency at a discount, the U.S. dollar, Canadians have switched recently with a mixture of distaste and concern as the Canadian unit has bumped progressively upward, passing the mark of 1.00 U.S. cents, last recorded in February 1984.

At the close of the financial markets in New York on Monday, the Canadian dollar was at 80.90 U.S. cents, up more than 3 cents this year and more than 11 cents, or about 17.0 percent, from the low of 9.13 cents in February 1986.

Many Canadian analysts think at the rate could rise to 85 cents midyear, and some even think at the two currencies could be on par in the early 1990s.

But for exporters — nearly 80 percent of Canada's exports go to the United States — the stronger Canadian dollar can be a major problem.

Arguments over the rising dollar in quickly into debate about the monetary policies of the Bank of Canada, the central bank. In pursuit of a low inflation rate, currently 4 percent, the bank has persisted in setting stiff interest rates that act as a magnet to international cur-

rency flows, and thus boost the value of the Canadian dollar.

For months, the Canadian rates have averaged about 2.5 percent higher than the rate on equivalent U.S. Treasury notes; since commercial interest rates are keyed to the Treasury rate, the spread between Canadian and U.S. rates for

riding high, economists, bankers and others have begun to worry that U.S. markets could shrink, choking off the growth. As one example, they cite exports of Canadian automobiles and trucks, which account for as much as 40 percent of all Canada's exports to the United States. Since 1985, when these exports reached a record 20.5 billion Canadian dollars, the drop in auto and truck sales has closely followed the rising unit costs of the vehicles in U.S. dollars.

Some say that the dangers of a rising dollar have been exaggerated. They cite other factors that they say should offset whatever losses Canadian exporters have had in the United States. Among them has been gradual improvement in commodity prices — lumber, minerals, fish and other products — that constitute a major part of Canadian exports. Also, the Canadian dollar has declined by 30 percent to 40 percent against major European currencies and the yen.

Under such a plan, the debt of a developing country would be acquired from a commercial bank at a discount by an institution that could be related to the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund, and the savings would be passed on to the country. Bills that conferers are trying to pull together this week. But a Treasury official warned that such a proposal could be "veto bait."

House liberals such as John J. LaFalce, Democrat of New York, and Bruce A. Morrison, Democrat of Connecticut, say they will fight the spending unless the Reagan administration discusses an international "debt facility" that would lighten the crushing debt load borne by most developing countries.

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The Treasury's opposition is rooted in its belief that any such plan ultimately would have to be paid for by the taxpayers of the industrial countries.

The capital increase is threatened on other flanks as well. The World Bank's lending policies, particularly a \$400 million loan made early this month to modernize the Mexican steel industry, are under attack from various sectors of U.S. industry.

You can mark me down as completely opposed to such loans to Mexico or any

Chile Increasingly Looks Across Pacific for Trade Links

By Shirley Christian

New York Times Service

SANTIAGO — A new cartoon character has shown up in Chilean newspapers in the past year: a cowboy-hatted kangaroo, its pouch stuffed with dollars, telephones and the documents of complicated financial deals.

The kangaroo is a sign of the times as Chile's fast-growing, free-market economy increasingly looks across the Pacific, to Asia, Australia and New Zealand, for trade and investments.

It was Alan Bond, the entrepreneur from Perth, who first inspired Chilean cartoonists to use the kangaroo. Last year he paid \$500 million for 90 percent of a gold mine in Chile's northern desert. In January, the Hong Kong-based international subsidiary of Bond Corp. bought 45 percent of Compania Telefonos de Chile, the national telephone company, for \$280 million.

They were just two of a number of purchases by Australian and New Zealand companies.

Meanwhile, Japan has become Chile's second largest trading partner, after the United States. Although Japanese cars jam Chile's roads and Japanese electronic goods fill Chile's shops, the trade balance is favorable to Chile mainly because of mineral and forestry exports.

Investments from Japan are beginning to arrive as well. The most significant has been the 10 percent participation by a group



Investments in Chile by the Australian entrepreneur Alan Bond inspired the use of the cartoon kangaroo character.

led by Mitsubishi Corp. in the Escondida mine project.

Chilean fruit exporters also accomplished what they considered a breakthrough this month with the first shipments of grapes to Japan. They said they had been negotiating for nine years to enter the market.

Business and government officials say the expanding economic ties are the result of several factors. One is that because Chile and the Pacific countries export many of the same things, particu-

larly fish, fruit and forestry products, it makes more sense to cooperate than compete.

Another is the wide variety of minerals and other raw materials that Chile can provide to Asian industry.

A big factor in fostering the investments has been Chile's debt-equity conversion law. It allows investors to buy Chilean debt on the secondary market at discount, then sell it to the central bank for pesos at face value, which can then be used for investments. Such deals typically produce savings of 20 percent to 30 percent for foreign investors.

Almost \$500 million of investments in hard currency were also made last year, about half the amount invested through debt conversions.

Bond Corp., for example, is making a direct investment in the telephone company, because Bond executives concluded that it would give them an advantage over the two other bidders, which had planned to use debt-equity funds.

Fernando Alvear, executive secretary of the government's Foreign Investment Committee, which approves all foreign investments of more than \$5 million, said contacts between Chile and the countries of the Pacific Basin had developed gradually.

He said they included investment promotions organized by the government and visits across the Pacific by Chilean business people.

The promotion efforts in Australia brought follow-up visits to Chile. Alan Bond came twice in mid-1987 to look at the Indio gold mine in the desert north, then owned by St. Joe Minerals Corp.

It was during one of his visits that Mr. Bond also learned that at least part of the telephone company would soon be for sale under the government's program to privatize, wholly or in part, most of the state corporations.

While acquiring only 45 percent of the company, the Bond company can name four of seven members of the board and assume managing control. The expectation is that the Bond company will lead the Chilean telephone company in a rapid expansion.

In other investments by Australian and New Zealand companies, Broken Hill Pty., the giant Australian resources firm, bought 60 percent of La Escondida, thought to be the world's largest unexploited copper deposit. Broken Hill, with other investors, recently committed \$1.1 billion to start up production.

In December, the New Zealand conglomerate Fletcher Challenge Ltd. bought a newsprint plant near Concepcion and 100,000 acres (about 40,000 hectares) of forests for \$133 million. Earlier, another New Zealand company, Carter, Holt Holdings Ltd., bought half an oil company, a wood paneling plant and 39 percent of a fishing company, an investment of about \$300 million.

World Bank Backers in U.S. Congress Balk at Request for Extra Capital

By Clyde H. Farnsworth

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Some of the strongest backers of the World Bank, which has never had a lot of friends in the U.S. Congress, may turn against it in an election-year showdown over the need for extra capital.

House liberals such as John J. LaFalce,

Democrat of New York, and Bruce A. Morrison, Democrat of Connecticut, say they will fight the spending unless the Reagan administration discusses an international "debt facility" that would lighten the crushing debt load borne by most developing countries.

Last year, the administration decided to support a \$75 billion capital infusion for the World Bank, the largest lender to developing nations. Of that amount, only 3 percent has to be put up in cash. The administration has just sent up a request for \$70 million for this fiscal year as the first installment of the U.S. share of the infusion.

A proposal calling on the president to negotiate a debt facility organization is contained in both the House and Senate trade bills that conferees are trying to pull together this week. But a Treasury official warned that such a proposal could be "veto bait."

The Treasury's opposition is rooted in its belief that any such plan ultimately would have to be paid for by the taxpayers of the industrial countries.

The capital increase is threatened on other flanks as well. The World Bank's lending policies, particularly a \$400 million loan made early this month to modernize the Mexican steel industry, are under attack from various sectors of U.S. industry.

You can mark me down as completely opposed to such loans to Mexico or any

other country that will cost jobs of West Virginia steelworkers," said the Senate majority leader, Robert C. Byrd, Democrat of West Virginia.

Critics fear that the loan will mean more Mexican steel in the United States, a point challenged by the bank, which notes that Mexico's demand for steel is rising.

The loan is intended to help Mexico drop some state subsidies and develop a leaner, more market-oriented steel sector. Last year U.S. steel imports from Mexico totaled 487,000 tons, up from 431,000 in 1986.

Anticipating a congressional conflict with "debt hawks" like Mr. LaFalce, Treasury Secretary James A. Baker 3d in early February called debt relief a mirage that leads both debtors and creditors off the cliff."

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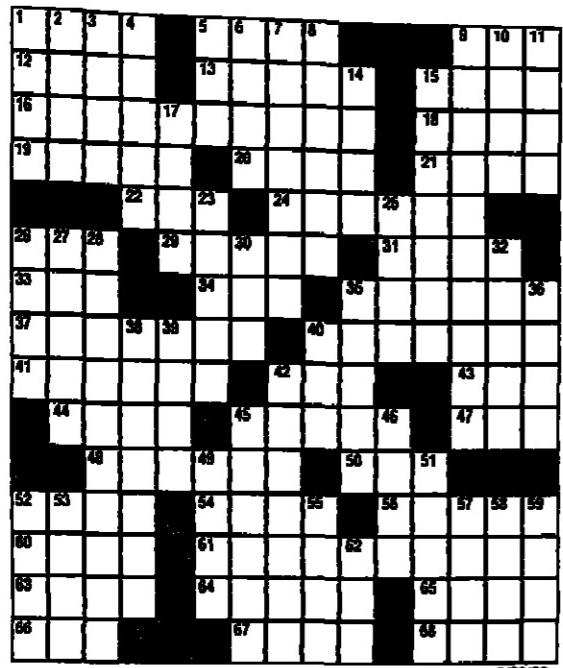
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**CROSS**

1 Basic things
5 British pokey
8 Noncom
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13 Roman courts
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16 Act to impress
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18 This may be
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21 Angel in Paris
22 Be mistaken
24 "Do not go
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D. Thomas
26 Small untruth
29 Sacred
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31 Spats
32 Black cuckoo
34 Auto, Dixie or
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4 Irish
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68 Cobblers' tools

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32 Harden
35 Tamarack, e.g.
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38 Checked for
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39 Cutlet meat
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She's Mine,"
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42 Duellists'
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45 La patois

46 Air: Comb.
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49 Austen heroine

51 Hot stuff in the
earth

52 Farm
structure

53 Indigo

55 Soon

57 Army food

58 "positive abbr."
59 Fast planes

62 Soap
ingredient

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DENNIS THE MENACE

"SURE, I WROTE MY NAME IN THE WET CEMENT!
YA CAN'T DO IT IN DRY CEMENT."

JUMBLE

Unsolvable these four Jumbles; one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.

TRIVE**WYLEN****TIDSEW****HISMAF****WEATHER**

Print answer here:

(Answers tomorrow)

Yesterday's Jumble: FLOOD KNIFE PULPIT DECEIT

Answer: Hints are often dropped but seldom this—PICKED UP

PEANUTS**BLONDIE****BEETLE BAILEY****ANDY CAPP****WIZARD OF ID****REX MORGAN****GARFIELD****World Stock Markets**
Via Agence France Presse Closing prices in local currencies, March 28

		Amsterdam		Class Prev.		Johannesburg		London		Class Prev.		Paris		Stockholm		Zurich		Toronto		Tokyo	
ABN Bank	100	29.20	29.20	Railways	100	118.20	118.20	Leather Co.	125	7.25	7.25	BHP	100	100	100	Sixt	10125	10125	10125	10125	
ACF Holdings	47.40	69.95	69.95	Deutsche Bank	245.10	491	491	Rover	125	6.45	6.45	Bordir	100	100	100	Surveillance	22275	22275	22275	22275	
AEG	100	100	100	WestLB	225	225	225	Lazard Fréres	125	1.25	1.25	Alufrit	615	645	645	Swissair	7805	7805	7805	7805	
Aero	100	100	100	Westpac	205	205	205	Scotiabank	125	1.25	1.25	Alusuisse	100	100	100	Swissair	7805	7805	7805	7805	
Alko	101.30	101.30	101.30	Wesbank	245	245	245	Siemens	125	1.25	1.25	Amico	100	100	100	Swissair	7805	7805	7805	7805	
Alm	51.00	51.00	51.00	Witwatersrand	100	100	100	Motorola	125	1.25	1.25	Arco	100	100	100	Swissair	7805	7805	7805	7805	
Almex	100	100	100	Wiz	100	100	100	National G	125	1.25	1.25	Arkema	100	100	100	Swissair	7805	7805	7805	7805	
Almex Rubber	47.40	69.95	69.95	Witbank	100	100	100	McPherson	125	1.25	1.25	Aspro	100	100	100	Swissair	7805	7805	7805	7805	
Amro Bank	100	100	100	Witz	100	100	100	Petronas	125	1.25	1.25	Autostar	100	100	100	Swissair	7805	7805	7805	7805	
Amro Bank	100	100	100	Witz	100	100	100	Portuguese	125	1.25	1.25	Bayer	100	100	100	Swissair	7805	7805	7805	7805	
Amro Bank	100	100	100	Witz	100	100	100	Prudential	125	1.25	1.25	Bayer	100	100	100	Swissair	7805	7805	7805	7805	
Amro Bank	100	100	100	Witz	100	100	100	Standard	125	1.25	1.25	Bayer	100	100	100	Swissair	7805	7805	7805	7805	
Amro Bank	100	100	100	Witz	100	100	100	Telecom	125	1.25	1.25	Bayer	100	100	100	Swissair	7805	7805	7805	7805	
Amro Bank	100	100	100	Witz	100	100	100	Transvaal	125	1.25	1.25	Bayer	100	100	100	Swissair	7805	7805	7805	7805	
Amro Bank	100	100	100	Witz	100	100	100	Union Carbide	125	1.25	1.25	Bayer	100	100	100	Swissair	7805	7805	7805	7805	
Amro Bank	100	100	100	Witz	100	100	100	West African	125	1.25	1.25	Bayer	100	100	100	Swissair	7805	7805	7805	7805	
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Amro Bank	100	100	100	Witz	100	100	100	West African	125	1.25	1.25	Bayer	100	100	100	Swissair	7805	7805	7805	7805	
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Amro Bank	100	100	100	Witz	100	100	100	West African	125	1.25	1.25	Bayer	100	100	100</						

SPORTS

Arizona Breezes Into the Final Four, 70-52

By Michael Wilbon
Washington Post Service

SEATTLE — Throughout the West Regional of the NCAA basketball tournament, teams figured that because Arizona hadn't been involved in more than two close games all season, the way to beat the Wildcats was to hang even for 35 minutes and see if they could stand up to the pressure.

On Sunday it was North Carolina's turn, and the Tar Heels may never know the answer because Arizona blew open the regional final — on the usual brilliance of Sean Elliott and Steve Kerr and on a once-in-a-career performance by Tom Tolbert.

North Carolina couldn't keep it close because it shot 31 percent the second half, allowing Arizona to advance to the Final Four with a 70-52 victory.

The Wildcats (35-2) left with their 15th straight triumph, with an average margin of 26 points in their four victories in this tournament — and with the feeling that their critics have been silenced.

Elliott's 24 points, Tolbert's 21, Kerr's 14 and Arizona's holding North Carolina without a field goal for nearly eight minutes in the second half gave Coach Lute Olson and his Wildcats — the region's top-seeded team — lots to crow about.

After convincing victories over Cornell, Seton Hall and Michigan, Olson and his team felt too many critics remained. "There were still people asking, 'How good are they going to be when somebody's right there with the pressure on them in the second half?'" Olson said.

Well, the Wildcats were this good after trailing by 28-26 at halftime; 58 percent shooting, 30 percent three-point shooting, 31 percent foul shooting, and only two turnovers.

And with that, Arizona became the first Pacific-10 team to reach the Final Four since 1980. North Carolina lost its fourth straight regional final, which no doubt served as a source of irritation, especially since some of the Tar Heels perceived the Wildcats as overconfident.

"They're really cocky," North Carolina's Rick Fox said after Sunday's game. "But maybe they have a reason to be. Coach [Dean Smith] told us before the game that if we stayed close we'd win because they hadn't gone through the tests we'd gone through in the regular season."

Arizona still hasn't.

J.R. Reid, the North Carolina behemoth who had averaged 18 points a game during the regular season and 24 points during the first three rounds of the tournament, finished with 10 Sunday, partly because he got in early foul trouble.

In all, 31 different teams were mentioned for best team, said Bob Sprenger, the Final Four executive who supervised the balloting. Of the 10 championship teams that Wooden had at UCLA, seven got votes as the best. His undefeated 1973 team finished third, his 1969 team fourth.

Indiana's 1976 squad with Quinn Buckner and Scott May, which won the first of Knight's three

titles, was the runner-up among the Final Four's best teams. San Francisco's 1956 team, with Bill Russell and K.C. Jones, was fifth. None of Kentucky's five championship teams, which also wore blue, collected enough votes to crack the top five.

"For the best individual performance,"

Sprenger said, "Walton got all but three first-place votes. But he got 49 first-place votes for what he did in the 1973 title game, and two first-place votes for his 24-point game when UCLA beat Florida State for the 1972 title. Bill Bradley got two first-place votes for his 58 points for Princeton in the 1965 third-place game and David Thompson got one for helping North Carolina State upset UCLA, 80-77, in the 1974 semifinals."

In taking the poll, Sprenger was concerned that it might turn out to be too heavy with recent history. But the 1957 title game transcended three decades.

Seven feet (2.13 meters) but skinny, Chamberlain was a freshman that season. In the semifinals he had scored 32 points for Kansas in a 50-56 rout of San Francisco, but Frank McGuire, the North Carolina coach, had assembled a team of mostly New York players. For the final, McGuire devised a defense that surrounded Chamberlain, like so many jackals surrounding a giraffe. Through three overtimes, he still scored 23 points. Kansas led, 53-52, with six seconds remaining. But then Joe Quigg was fouled.

"Now, Joe," said McGuire, trying to calm his center during the time-out. "As soon as you make 'em..."

Quigg made 'em both, completing a 32-0 record matched only by Indiana's 1976 title team.

Of all the upsets, Kentucky's loss to Texas-El Paso (then known as Texas Western) in the 1966 title game was the most sociologically significant. The Miners, the first championship team to start five black players, stunned Rupp's all-white team, 72-65. But in the balloting, it finished third with 10 first-place votes. Villanova's virtually perfect game in 1983 against Georgetown earned 24 votes. North Carolina State's 54-52 triumph over Houston in the 1983 final on Lorenzo Charles' buzzer basket was second with 14 votes.

"The memory of Jim Valvano running around after that game," Sprenger said of the N.C. State coach, "got the most votes for the most memorable moment." Other high-spot memories were Al McGuire's emotional reaction when Marquette won the 1977 title in his last game as coach, Villanova's 1985 upset victory, and the 1979 title-game matchup of Magic Johnson of Michigan State and Larry Bird of Indiana State.

But maybe the most memorable moment really occurred in 1939, when the coaches took that \$2,531 check.

crowd was still abuzz over Tolbert, and the Wildcats came to life. Kerr's three-pointer with 13:23 to play put Arizona ahead for good, 46-44.

A turnover by Jeff Lebo (three-for-nine shooting, four turnovers) put Tolbert back in the spotlight. He made another twisting lay-up and foul shot to provide a 49-44 lead.

Smith, Lebo and Williams missed jumpers, Reid stepped in the lane to nullify a free throw by Williams and Tolbert thundered in for yet another reverse lay-up that made it 51-44.

North Carolina truly hit the shooting skids after missing seven straight shots. Tolbert, meanwhile, hit a baseline jumper, pushing the lead to 59-48. By the time the Tar Heels scored another field goal, only 1:45 remained in their season.

The Wildcats burned them by going to a set in which Elliott, the 6-foot-8 all-American forward, brought the ball upcourt almost every time. Not only did a big man have to guard Elliott out on top, but another big man would have to step up when Elliott acted as if he were coming down the lane. That left Tolbert with only one defender.

"Tolbert just put on a show in the second half," said Dean Smith. "Sean Elliott we couldn't control as well as we'd hoped. They put Elliott in the middle, one-on-one, and he does make some nice passes out of that."

Tolbert, hardly the shy one, said he thought at halftime about his friends back home in Southern California who always told him, "Tom, you don't head fake enough. He used enough head fakes on Reid and Williams in the second half to last three or four games."

And before long, the Wildcats were dancing and laughing about making their first trip to the Final Four. It's difficult to see why a team needs a chip on its shoulder, having won 35 games, but the Wildcats seem to have one.

Fox said the Tar Heels had taken offense at "some of the things in the newspapers they had said. We didn't appreciate their cockiness."

Part of the reason is that Arizona players have endured so many insults over the years about West Coast basketball.

"Even today," said forward Anthony Cook, "when the refs called some ticky-tacky fouls, the Carolina guys started saying, 'Hey, this isn't no West Coast ball!'

"They were saying West Coast this and West Coast that. They didn't even shake our hands when we came out for introductions. I think their attitudes were all wrong."

"People act like we didn't really beat all these teams, like our whole season really didn't exist. Hey, we're not bragging. We're just playing."

NCAA: Poll of Blue-Chippers

By Dave Anderson
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — It originated in 1939, when it was won by the University of Oregon's basketball team, the Tall Firs, as they were known. That first tournament was sponsored by the National Association of Basketball Coaches, but when it lost \$2,531, the National Collegiate Athletic Association had a suggestion. If the NCAA could sponsor the tournament in the future, it would write a check to pay the coaches' debts.

In that era long before coaches contracts, the coaches agreed. Financially, that was about as smart as calling all your team's time-outs before the last two minutes of a game. When this year's Final Four teams leave Kansas City, Missouri, after next Monday night's 50th championship game, each will have collected more than \$1 million.

To celebrate the 50th tournament, this year's NCAA logo is a gold medallion with a red 5 and a brown basketball for the 0. But aside from the absence of green, as in dollars, the most symbolic color of the Final Four is missing. There's no blue of any shade — no UCLA powder blue, no Villanova sky blue, nor Villanova navy blue.

John Wooden's teams at UCLA won 10 national championships in 12 seasons, beginning in 1964 and ending in 1975 with his retirement as coach. No other coach or college has come close to that record. And when this year's Final Four committee polled 55 sportswriters across the nation in five Final Four categories, Wooden and his University of California-Los Angeles players dominated three:

• Best team: the 1968 champions featuring Lew Alcindor, the center now known as Kareem Abdul-Jabbar.

• Best individual performance: Bill Walton's 44 points in the 87-66 victory over Memphis State for the 1973 title.

• Best coach: Wooden, who got 49 of the 55 first-place votes (Adolph Rupp got four, Bobby Knight two).

Two other blue-uniformed teams finished first in the other categories. North Carolina's triple-overtime 54-53 victory over Kansas with Walt Chamberlain for the 1957 title was selected as the best Final Four game. Villanova's 66-64 triumph over Georgetown for the 1985 title was chosen as the biggest upset.

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ART BUCHWALD

Some Pardon Scenarios

WASHINGTON — With the indictments of Ollie North, John Poindexter, Richard Secord and Albert Hakim, people in Washington are now speculating as to how it will all come out. Here are some theories:

President Reagan will pardon Ollie North and John Poindexter because they both worked for him. But he will do nothing for Secord and Hakim because they were not team players.

The president will not pardon anybody because they didn't commit any crimes. And even if that's the case, Washington was watching old movies and didn't know about it.

Senator Bob Dole, in one last desperate move for the Republican nomination, will announce that if he is elected president he will pardon Vice President George Bush.

Bush will return if his resume shows he doesn't need a pardon because he went to Texas.

Pat Robertson will proclaim that if he is elected president he will sign a divine forgiveness order for the four defendants which has double the value of a pardon.

It is predicted that Ollie North will pardon his shredding machine and the people who used it without his permission.

Ollie's lawyer will announce that he is calling President Reagan



Prime Minister Shamir and the Ayatollah Khomeini as defense witnesses in the trial.

General Secord's lawyer will ask the Sultan of Brunei to open up a defense fund for his client in a Swiss bank account.

President Reagan will announce he is giving a blanket pardon to Ed Meese. This way the president won't have to be bothered with issuing a new one every day.

Northwest Airlines will announce at the beginning of the trial they will not pardon Poindexter if he keeps smoking his pipe in the courtroom.

During the trial the prosecution will ask Hakim where the money is. He will say he doesn't know anything about the money. His only concern in the Contra affair was to see that Ollie North had good financing for his house.

At some point the Department of Agriculture will be asked to rule if Ollie North's lawyer Brendan Sullivan is a potted plant. If they decide he is, the president will give him a pardon.

The chances of a new Democratic president pardoning the "Gang of Four" are about the same as Nancy Reagan pardoning her stepson Michael Reagan. For this reason most of the defendants are rooting for a Republican to win in 1988, just in case Ronald Reagan doesn't sign their pardons.

There is no doubt that the pardoning will be a big campaign issue. Where you stand will test your patriotism. If you are in favor of a fair trial and a not-guilty verdict from the jury you are a good American.

If you pray for a guilty verdict you are stamping on the American flag in your high heels.

The question keeps cropping up as to what happens if the trial drags along and Bush, after being elected president, is called as a witness in the case.

The answer is that Bush, depending on his testimony, might have to pardon himself. While this could have political repercussions, it is nothing compared to having Bush testify what he knew about Iran-contra and when he knew it. Those in the know in Washington have always maintained that if Nixon had paid more attention to pardons than he did to cover-ups, he might never have had to resign.

World's Smallest Koran May Be in Yugoslavia

Agence France-Presse

BELGRADE — A hotel manager at Pula, Yugoslavia, has inherited what he believes is the world's smallest Koran, the Tanqee news agency reported Monday. The miniature Moslem holy book inherited from his grandfather by Ebrahim Durmishi measures 2.5 centimeters by 1.5 centimeters (about 1 by .6 inches), Tanqee added.

Recently, a Polish daily said the world's smallest Koran, measuring 3 by 2 centimeters had been discovered in Poland. But soon after, a Tehran daily claimed an Iranian owned an even smaller edition, measuring 2.7 by 1.7 centimeters.

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Design Memory of a Viennese Pupil

By Alan Levy

LUNZ-AM-SEE, Austria — Lillian Langseth-Christensen is the daughter of a music-loving, wine-cellar-proud, ex-Austrian cavalry officer who had come to New York to fetch mother in 1904 and stayed. She was born in Manhattan four years later, and at 14 — trying to look 18, with the help of a walking stick and a cigarette — she went to Vienna to study design with Josef Hoffmann, the architect-decorator and applied-arts innovator.

The author of "A Design for Living Vienna in the Twenties," published last year, she has been living for almost two decades with her second husband, Richard, a painter five years her junior, in a former Habburg hunting lodge more than 3,000 feet above sea level, halfway between Vienna and Salzburg.

Her studies with Hoffmann lasted three years and ended abruptly when her brother died of typhoid and she was called back to New York by her parents. Hoffmann — whom she recalls as a symphony of laundered stiffness dressed, like so much of his work, in black and white — spoke to her rarely, always in the third-person singular: "She should cut it in wood" and "She should paint it on the wall" are virtually the only quotes from him in her handsome 214-page book, dressed by Viking Press in a west of black-and-white Hoffmann endpapers and a jacket of turn-of-the-century Vienna cream-colored packing paper.

"Now that I look back on it all," she says, "it really was the most harmonious of professor-pupil relationships summarized by words." Sometimes he would bring a book (or Chinese prints, perhaps, or primitive prints) and lay it before her open to the page she should study. The silent treatment and the dread of Hoffmann's occasional visits made the young Lillian Gaertner and her classmates — including Jo Mielziner, the stage designer, and Pola Weinhuber, who married first Hoffmann's son and later the mystery writer Rex Stout and designed fabrics for Botany Mills — concentrate intently on their work. She writes:

"We stayed up there for only a week," she recalls, "and then I followed the army." Her husband was sent to Cornell University for a crash course in German, and Liesl enrolled in three art classes. The registrar reviewed her qualifications and asked whether she wanted to take or give the courses; she took. A son, Hans, now a landscape painter, had a struggling young artist, a Mortmon from Utah, by the time he heard that she was divorced. Richard Langseth-Christensen was a U.S. soldier in London. He proposed by cable, which she never received, followed up by mail from North Africa, and by telephone on his return to New York in 1943. Their wedding luncheon was in Manhattan, at Voisin, and wedding dinner at the home of a friend whose father gave them as a wedding present a food ration stamp, which they used to buy butter and set up housekeeping in 1944.

A few months earlier in New York, she had met a struggling young artist, a Mortmon from Utah. By the time he heard that she was divorced, Richard Langseth-Christensen was a U.S. soldier in London. He proposed by cable, which she never received, followed up by mail from North Africa, and by telephone on his return to New York in 1943. Their wedding luncheon was in Manhattan, at Voisin, and wedding dinner at the home of a friend whose father gave them as a wedding present a food ration stamp, which they used to buy butter and set up housekeeping in 1944.

One day on a commuter train, she rode in with Willis Conner, an architect who later became a movie executive. Appalled to hear how much of her life she spent riding the rails, Conner told her: "The only thing you can possibly do with that much time is write a book."

Having learned to streamline her hours in the kitchen, she collaborated with a

friends, lived what she learned from Hoffmann, and has enjoyed success as interior designer and decorator in New York, as a dog breeder (with a kennel of 86 boxes at one point) in Connecticut, cookbook author ("A Design for Living" is her 39th book, but first non-kitchen work) and epicure for Gourmet magazine, where she has been a contributing editor since the '70s. After continuing her studies in New York she worked for two years for Joseph Urban, a New Yorker from Vienna who designed sets for the Metropolitan Opera and the Ziegfeld Follies and who had first recommended her to Hoffmann. She painted a huge mural for the Ziegfeld Theater, collaborated on the Persian Room of the Plaza Hotel, did costumes for Maria Theresa at the Met and upholstery fabrics and place cards for the Huntley, Hearst, and Palm Beach society, all before turning 21.

At 21, she married an American-born papal count named Harold Bolko Petrali. They had one daughter before she slipped off quietly to Reao by myself, the way one did in those days" and got a divorce in 1942.

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was destroyed, including a pair of Modigliani, a Baroque wood-carved Madonna, all of Richard's works, and 20 Egon Schiele and Gustav Klimt drawings and watercolors she had bought in her student days. Though Klimt and Schiele had died in 1918 — as had Hoffmann's teacher, the architect Otto Wagner, Hoffmann's partner, the artist Kolo Moser, half the Vienna Secession group and the whole Habsburg empire Liesl had met Klimt on a childhood visit to Vienna that she recalls in her book:

"He was a bearded man in one of the studios we visited. His voice was vibrant, his eyes sparkled, he had great vitality and three puffs of dark hair, one in the center of his forehead and one over each ear. He was very kind, and it seemed to me, absolutely divine. I thought of him as very large and beautiful, and am now dismayed to think that he probably seemed very large because I was very small and because he wore a voluminous smock."

"I was not allowed to touch anything, but I was allowed to look. There was a glorious painting on an easel and others glittered from the walls, but the thing that impressed me most was his tentlike smock and the discovery, due to my small size, that his legs were bare under it. It takes only an instant to become a child's unforgettable ideal; he was not only marvelous, but he had a large and handsome cat."

Despite the fire, they were in Austria to stay. "What would we have gone back to in America? We didn't have any clothes; we didn't have anything." Their Austrian insurance would pay only for rebuilding, not for loss. The work cost more than \$100,000, with the couple directing operations for three months from a temporary residence in the local spa, where they shared the premises with "billions of bees: very well-organized neighbors whom you hardly ever saw, but sometimes heard."

In the early 1980s, her literary agent in New York suggested that, with Hoffmann and his contemporaries coming back into vogue, she should start writing her memoirs instead of a new cookbook. Writing and editing in longhand 12 to 16 hours a day, stringing up in longhand 2 to 4 miles of yellow legal pads and "schoolkid pencils" (Richard typed the results), she produced a manuscript that she says one major publisher rejected as "an editing job nobody could do, but Viking published it without changing one word."

"A Design for Living" was recently honored by the American Graphic Society as one of the best-designed books of 1987. "That's only fitting, don't you think?" she says. With Lillian Langseth-Christensen, as with a Hoffmann living room, everything fits.

Alan Levy is a writer based in Vienna.

Author Lillian Langseth-Christensen

Photo: Lillian Langseth-Christensen

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